





with a great variety of topics: the war and its repercussions so far as the Jews were concerned; the role of the Jewish community in the political and cultural life of their native country; the function of the liberal press and the changes that took place at the time in the thinking of many "non-Jewish Jews". Wilhelm Fricke, a leading German economic historian, writes about economic factors in the spread of antisemitism without, however, attributing decisive importance to them.

VERNER F. MÜSSE with ARNOLD PAUCKER (ed.): *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution*. 701 pp., Fribingen: J. C. B. Mohr, DM 72.

DONALD L. NIEWYK: *Socialist, Anti-Semite and Jew: German Social Democracy Confronts*

the Problem of Anti-Semitism 1918-1933. 254 pp., Louisiana State University Press, \$8.95.

HANS-HELMUTH KNUTTER: *Die Juden und die deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1933*

254 pp., Ditzelsdorf: Dr. Dietrich, DM 19.80.

JOACHIM RADKAU: *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluss auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945*. 378 pp., Ditzelsdorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, DM 38.

## The roots of antisemitism

To explain antisemitism it has been fashionable for a long time to stress social and economic factors such as the competition between Jews and non-Jews. Hermann Bahr, the Viennese critic, as early as 1894 defined antisemitism as the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against industrialization. But it is doubtful whether such explanations are of much help in the present context. For antisemitism in its most acute and ultimately murderous form prevailed not in those countries of Eastern Europe where a very real economic problem existed, but in Germany where, in view of the insignificant number of Jews involved, the Jewish Question was only marginal in objective social terms.

An interesting fact which has not been sufficiently studied is that the Nazi rule before 1933 was strongest in those regions of Germany (East Prussia, Pomerania, Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Lower Saxony) where there were least Jews. It is perhaps even more significant that during the decade before Hitler came to power Nazi influence in German universities was strongest precisely in places such as Rostock, Greifswald or Erlangen, where there were hardly any Jews. Elsewhere their impact was most pronounced in departments such as forestry, veterinary medicine and other technical professions which attracted few if any Jewish students. In the light of these facts no undue importance should be attributed to economic competition. There is no doubt some correlation between the ups and downs of the German economy between 1830 and 1930 and the upsurge and decline of the antisemitic movement. But this applies to all crises, political as well as economic.

Whenever tensions and conflict sharpened, Jews came under attack.

According to widespread belief, the Weimar Republic was an era of Jewish political and cultural predominance. The part of individual Jews in 1918-19 is ably surveyed by Werner F. Müsser in his essay in *Deutsches Judentum*, but the realities which emerge from his study are much less striking than the myth of the *Judenrepublik*. Rosa Luxemburg and Kurt Eisner (the head of the short-lived revolutionary government in Munich) played an important role, so did Walter Rathenau, who was Foreign Minister during a critical period, while Hugo Preuss wrote the Weimar Constitution. But Luxemburg, Eisner and Rathenau were assassinated early on, and Preuss played no active role in German politics. The other Jewish politicians active at the time were of little importance. In fact, the percentage of Jews in the last German parliament of the Weimar period was much smaller (1.7 per cent) than it had been in the last Reichstag elected in the Wilhelmine era.

The Jews were accused by their detractors of having a stranglehold on German literature and the press, the theatre and the cinema, and there is no denying that their influence in these fields was very great indeed. But they never dominated. The great Jewish newspapers such as the *Frankfurter*, the *Vossische*, the *Berliner Tageblatt* by no means had the largest circulation; they went out of their way to refrain from dealing with specific Jewish topics and they tried hard not to have too many Jews on their staff. Politically their influence was virtually nil. The *Weltbühne* and the *Tagebuch*, the organs of the left-wing and liberal intelligentsia (and now a goldmine for research students), had a combined circulation of 15,000.

Jewish writers in Germany were firmly convinced that they consi-

dered German culture at its best—and they represented quite successfully the German spirit in Paris and London. At home the situation was different: there was not a single Jew among the authors of the most widely read books between the turn of the century and 1933. From 1900 on there were two literatures. There was the liberal-democratic-Jewish literature, with Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, Arnold and Stefan Zweig as some of its best known representatives; while the German public was reading Hermann Löns and Walter Flex, Ludwig Ganghofer and Richard Voss, E. G. Kolbenheyer and Wilhelm Schaefer, Hermann Siehr and Rudolph Binding. The later names are conspicuously absent in the recent literature on Weimar culture, but they were far more influential for a public which also preferred Hans Pfitzner to Schoenberg and patriotic films about Frederick the Great to *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari*.

It is easy to argue that the German Jews should have felt their isolation more acutely, that they should have been aware of the dangers facing them. Some of them did: Berthold Auerbach, the Jew from the Black Forest who rediscovered the German village for German literature, wrote towards the end of his life, well before the First World War, that he had lived and worked in vain. Schoenberg in a letter to Kandinsky (dated 1923) stated that he had been forced to accept in recent years that he was not a German, nor a European, perhaps not even a human being: "It was a dream."

The war helped to dispel illusions: at first everything went well; the Kaiser himself had proclaimed national solidarity. But as trench warfare continued, and as the vision of the final victory receded, there was growing ill-feeling at the front which gradually spread to the rear. Initially this was interpreted as the resentment of the masses vis-à-vis educated people in general. But then

it dawned on the Jews that they were singled out for attack, that their idea that they had been accepted was indeed a dream. Yet they had not yet entirely given up hope; many of them thought with Gustav Meyer, the distinguished historian of socialism, that existing prejudices would decrease each year in the same way as railways would get faster and postage cheaper. They were baffled by the particular resentment displayed towards them by the German middle class, and they were reluctant to accept what was so obviously the truth: that these people simply did not like them and, to a certain extent, were afraid of them. There were no comparable fears in France or Britain: the French felt perfectly capable of absorbing the Jews within their own culture; English Jewry was neither politically nor culturally in the same class as the Jewish communities on the Continent.

## The end of tolerance

As the political and economic crisis of the Republic became more severe towards the end of the 1920s the Jews finally became aware of their precarious situation. But there was little they could do about it; they were fated to be liberal republicans, one of the main pillars and the last defenders of a democratic system born in defeat and reoriented by a great and growing part of the German people. They did not yet react by opting for Zinism but hoped against hope that the antisemitic wave would pass. They sensed that they were not accepted but just tolerated, and that the breakdown of liberalism also implied the end of tolerance and of their emancipation.

While it flourished, German Jewry was attacked by its opponents as a left-wing, anti-patriotic, revolution-

ary element, a ferment of decomposition, an opponent of national values, lacking respect for the past. These charges were all that was holy to the German people. These charges were all that was holy to the German people. These charges were all that was holy to the German people.

It is one of the ironies of fate that today German Jewry is attacked by a revisionist school of historians mainly in West Germany. For exactly the opposite reason, according to this new version, the Jews could have joined the splintering of the extreme left, but had not done so. The difference would have been in character; it did not play a part in the resistance against Hitler.

Unlike the Blacks in the United States today, the Jews did not play an active part in the anti-fascist struggle; the argument runs because their inspiration was reactionary. It is more or less true that the German Jews had supported Hitler but for very different reasons. They felt they owed a debt of gratitude to the old right, and it is not difficult to see why. For if Nazism was to be the praxis of the new right, it was to be the praxis of the new right.

Could the Jews have done more for the anti-Nazi struggle? The answer is that they could not. The anti-Nazi struggle was a struggle of the masses, and the Jews were a minority. They were a minority, and they were a minority.

## Antisemitism and the left

Two recent studies on the attitude of the German Left towards the Jews of the Weimar Republic are free from such distortions. In *Socialist, Anti-Semite and Jew* Donald L. Niewyk says, quite correctly, that the socialists underestimated the political impact of antisemitism. This may have inhibited them from developing their opposition to antisemitism into

a "major part of their organized campaign against Nazism". But since antisemitic moods were widespread and popular it is extremely doubtful whether a left-wing campaign against antisemitism would have had much (if any) political effect.

The *Juden und die Deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik* is more imbalanced but also more problematic. It shows that the communists, in contrast to the socialists, did not on occasion hesitate to exploit, for tactical reasons, antisemitism in their propaganda. Hans Helmut Knüttler's study shows much good will to understand the complex situation of the Jews in Germany and yet, in the last resort, it emerges that the "Jewish question" remains to him as much of a mystery as it did in earlier generations of German historians. For what is one to make of the "summary" which explains the destruction of German Jewry as a result of "internal Jewish differences", of the "tensions in the relationship between the Jews and the German left" and only in third place as the consequence of German antisemitism? In other words: the struggle between Zionists and non-Zionists, between the religious and the secular element in the Jewish community and the "tensions" between the German left and the German Jews were the major issues involved in the "final solution". It is difficult to think of observations less relevant and more misleading in this context.

The assertion that the Jews did not really belong to the anti-Nazi camp and that but for the antisemitism they would have joined the Nazi bandwagon is, of course, impossible to prove or disprove. Hitler's antisemitism was after all no accident; without it Hitler would not have been Hitler. It was an essential part of his Weltanschauung. References to Fascist Italy are irrelevant in this context; some Jews played a leading part in Mussolini's party and in the state apparatus. But the part of the Jews in the anti-Fascist

opposing was far larger. From Treves and Midgton to the Roselli brothers. For a variety of historical and psychological reasons, mainly perhaps their restless, inquisitive, sceptical mind, Jews do not make good citizens in a totalitarian state.

If the German New Left dismisses German Jewry as at best parasitic and at best bourgeois-apologetic, Perry Anderson, in his essay "Components of the National Culture" (in the 1969 Penguin *Student Power*), does not go that far. He merely argues that Britain had the misfortune to be saddled with a White counter-revolutionary intellectual immigration from the Continent (Namier, Wittgenstein, Karl Popper, Isaiah Berlin, E. H. Carr, Strauss, Melan Klein, etc.) whereas the "Progressives" (Marxists, Adorno, Fromm, Reich and others) went to the United States. This, according to Mr. Anderson, was a process of natural selection, for the reactionaries, the enemies of violent change, were attracted by a Britain that epitomized tradition, conformity and orderly empire. It is an original theory but it hardly survives critical examination—for every Marxist who went to America there is a Leo Strauss, a Hans J. Morgenthau, a Hannah Arendt, for every fellow-traveller there is one of different political persuasion. Mr. Anderson's British list is no less arbitrary, even if one accepts a classification which, to put it mildly, is somewhat primitive.

## Evolution of the émigrés

This thesis of the "progressive character" of the émigrés who went to America must have come as a shock to Joachim Radkau, who has tried to prove that the émigrés in the United States, most of them Jewish, were on the whole a conservative element—or in as much as they had been on the left, gradually reneged on their earlier political beliefs. They

had a regrettable tendency, Dr. Radkau argues, to overreact, to dramatize their own fate and to believe that they had been somehow affected by an extraordinary apocalyptic disaster; they would have been better advised, in other words, to take the extinction of European Jewry with a greater degree of tranquillity. If compassion is not the strength of the revisionist argument, nor is logic. The author maintains, to provide him one example, that the neo-liberalism of Schumpeter (but Schumpeter and Peter Drucker can be explained by the percentage of Jews in Vienna being higher than in any German city. He does not mention that Jews were far more prominently represented among the Austro-Marxists).

If émigré politics were not always admirable surely it was not only a "school of scandal and baseness", to use a phrase coined by Engels which Dr. Radkau does not fail to quote in *Die deutsche Emigration in der USA*. Reading this kind of study the unsuspecting reader is bound to reach the conclusion that Hitlerism was the normal practice of middle-class, liberal-capitalist behaviour; that the very specific character of fascism was a phantasmagoria conjured up by Hannah Arendt, Franz Neumann and others; that Stalinism was an invention of the Nazis and Joe McCarthy, and that ex-communists such as Borkman, Ruth Fischer or Wittfogel and the social-democratic exile politicians were really more dangerous figures than the Himmlers and the Streichers. At this point it can no longer be said with any degree of certainty whether the attack still emanates from a left-wing ideological vantage-point, or whether the radical phraseology just serves, perhaps unknowingly, as a cover for deeper, and more sinister instincts all too well known to students of modern German history.

Continental Jewry, once one of the most vital branches of European civilization, is now a subject for doctoral dissertations. The sources of its creativeness have remained a riddle in friend and foe: "Everywhere we meet them as allies or as

enemies". Jean-Christophe says to Oliver, in Romain Rolland's novel. His friend answers, referring to the Paris scene before the First World War:

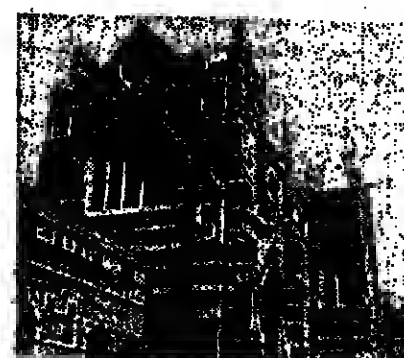
What would we do without a handful of free Protestants and Jews? In contemporary Europe the Jews are the most tenacious agents of everything good and evil... they are almost the only ones with whom a free man can discuss something new and vital. We could not manage without them. But of course, we ought to keep them in their place...

What predestined the Continental Jewish intelligentsia for this role? Pégyu, Romain Rolland's friend, wrote that it was the fact that they were not quite at home—"être ailleurs, le grand vice de cette race, la grande vocation de ce peuple".

To write about Germans and Jews—to paraphrase Gershom Scholem again—is a melancholy enterprise, for it concerns a chapter of modern history which has come to an end in a particularly gruesome way. The current revival of interest in the culture of the Weimar period, which was to a large extent shaped by the German-Jewish intelligentsia, is certainly flattering for the survivors and the descendants. But it also has its disquieting aspects. It shows that a cultural centre which has gone forever has not yet found a successor, that a bygone period still has to provide cultural and ideological sustenance for subsequent generations. Much of the attraction of this cultural tradition is in its creativity, its rootlessness and unrest. The Paris students who in 1968 defended Cohn-Bendit shouted "nous sommes tous des Juifs éternels" were uttering part of a profound truth though they were no doubt unaware of it. Rootlessness and unrest have spread, but creativity unfortunately has not.

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## Geronticon

DONALD W. KLEIN and ANNE B. CLARK (Editors): *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965*

Volume I: Ai Sun-chi — Lo I-nung. 641pp.

Volume II: Lo Jui-ch'ing — Yun Tui-ying. pp.643-1194.

Harvard University Press, London: Oxford University Press. £14 the set.

HOWARD L. BOORMAN (Editor): *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*

Volume III: Mao-Wu. 471pp. £11.25.

Volume IV: Yang-Yun. 418pp. £17.

Columbia University Press.

Students of China have been well served by Donald Klein and Anne Clark. Their 433 biographies of leaders of the Chinese communist movement are backed by convincing research and a proper appreciation of what knowledge about a man's career is valuable and what is colourless or irrelevant. There will be some disappointment that they have taken their cut-off date 1965 and rejected the arguments for trying to bring their lists up to date by adding the names of those who rose in the Cultural Revolution. By now this disappointment may be mitigated by the ever more convincing evidence of serious divisions in the Peking leadership. Not only the political bureau of the party that emerged from the ninth congress in 1969 but even the central committee may look very different a few months from now.

Moreover, users of these volumes may well find that they are even better served by the appendices than by the biographies themselves. There are more than a hundred pages of these, covering every kind of classification of personal data, native province, higher education, military background, education abroad, attendance at conferences and congresses, membership of all important bodies back to the 1920s, to mention such significant details as who was present on such occasions as the Nanchang uprising, the Wuhan incident, the December 9 movement, and so on.

Anyone who has observed the workings of Chinese society will have remarked on the powerful pull of *kuan-ai*, those affiliations of school, university, and working life which are cultivated and acknowledged by both sides to have value throughout life. Thus there is an appendix showing the *kuan-ai* of field army service, of origins by liberated area, of appointments in border regions and naturally such tables of membership

as the seventh, eighth, and ninth central committees. The trawling is very thorough.

Glancing through these biographies reminds one how little new blood has moved up in the Chinese leadership since 1949. Even taking into account the hundred or so new names in the ninth central committee—not all of whom are known even to the barest information of date of birth—what one could call the Long March generation is still holding all the seats of power. A classification by age-groups shows barely a handful belonging to a generation born after 1916. That is to say, no one who joined the party after the Second World War, much less after the formation of the People's Republic, has yet risen to a position even as an alternate member of the central committee. Is any other country of such size ruled by such old men?

An equally warm welcome can also be given to the last two volumes of the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* of which the first two volumes were reviewed in the TLS on December 5, 1968. Howard Boorman, who has been the helm-man of this great enterprise, had Mr Klein and Mrs Clark as members of his crew, and there has been a sensible collaboration over the two enterprises; that is to say there is such overlapping between them as there ought to be, but a careful choice has been made between the republican period and communist activity with many of the lesser characters. In such cases duplication has been avoided and each biography appears in the most appropriate place, on the assumption that students will constantly be using both dictionaries.

Of course Professor Boorman's dictionary gives a broader view of Chinese life and offers the better quarry for the casual reader. Many entries deal with Chinese important in their own country but much less well known abroad, such as Su Manshu. Even a brief turning of the pages can be suggestive. What train of thought might follow from consideration of the part played by Wu Pei-fu and Tu Yuch-sheng, the one a warlord of the 1920s, the other boss of the Shanghai underground? Even the short account of their two biographies is enough to define a different world of thought and action to a Western reader.

In both collections the space allotted to each biography shows a good balance. Only Mao Tse-tung himself—more fully covered in early life in Boorman, given more space in power in Klein and Clark—is much too big a horse for either stable.

## Birth of Bangla Desh

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS: *The East Pakistan Tragedy*

140pp. Tom Stacey. £2.80.

ANTHONY MASCARENHAS: *The Rape of Bangla Desh*

108pp. Delhi: Vikas. Obtainable from UBS, 141 Ludbroke Grove, London W11. £2.

If anyone wants to read in encapsulated form the two current and totally conflicting versions of the transformation of East Pakistan into Bangla Desh, they could do no better than study these two books. On virtually every point in the history of the last few years of Pakistan's existence, L. F. Rushbrook Williams and Anthony Mascarenhas give versions which are diametrically opposed. Each of them has to some extent been overtaken by unforeseen events and both of them may perhaps wish that they had not rushed into print quite so rapidly, leaving their opinions quite so nakedly exposed. But their books do have interest and value for those attempting to sort out for themselves the truth about the remarkable upheaval which has destroyed the pattern of the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent and set in train changes in the map of South Asia which may not yet be at an end.

Professor Rushbrook Williams's approach is straightforward enough. His book ends before the war between India and Pakistan; his judgment is that General Yahya Khan, from the time he took over control from Field Marshal Ayub Khan, acted in the interests of the country as its leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, envisaged it. He sees East Bangla's Awami League as the villain of the piece, unimpaired of the benefits conferred by the military administration. He accuses its supporters of electoral intimidation and mass murder; he is puzzled why so many observers came to the conclusion that it was the Bengalis who were the victims and

Professor Mascarenhas is a Guernsey Christian who worked as a journalist in Pakistan until May, 1971, when he fled the country to print in *The Sunday Times* a sensational account of what he described as large-scale massacres by the Pakistan Army in East Bengal. In *The Rape of Bangla Desh* he describes the political events which led up to the moment on March 25, 1971, when, according to Mr Mascarenhas and many other foreign journalists who were present, the Army set out to destroy politicians, academics, students and journalists as well as Bengali members of the armed forces and unfortunate Hindus who happened to be in the

way. Mr Mascarenhas, like Professor Rushbrook Williams, is a native of East Pakistan. He accepts that the Army, in response to savage provocation, took stern but necessary remedial measures, but neither Professor Rushbrook Williams nor his wife who accompanied him on visits to East Pakistan in 1971 saw anything to justify what—in his own words—the world had been made to believe: that the Army and not the Bengali mobs were guilty of genocide. He accepts without question the Pakistani statistics designed to show that charges made by Bengali economists of exploitation of East by West are false; he accepts that the Yahya Khan's declaration of his desire to transfer power to the people and he expresses his confidence in Yahya Khan's ability to carry his policies to a successful conclusion if only the politicians would follow his prescriptions.

Professor Rushbrook Williams has some fifty years of experience of events in the subcontinent, and it cannot be held against him that he did not foresee the way in which events were to move to their dramatic finale. It is fair to say that his sympathies, as displayed in this book, are strongly with Pakistan and he shares the view of Pakistan's former military rulers: that a settlement could have been achieved in East Pakistan if India had kept out of the picture.

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## Opium from Europe

ELIE KEDOURIE (Editor): *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*

573pp. Wiedenfeld and Nicolson. £3 (paperback, £1.25).

The subject of nationalism is one about which much remains to be written. Elie Kedourie has already made his own valuable contribution in his *Nationalism*. The collection of nationalist writings which he has now edited and provided with an introduction does not take us very much further in understanding, although there must be few who will not be introduced to writers and polemicists new to them. Most readers, however, will be struck by the very brief reference to Zionism and the absence of any reference to Israeli nationalism (not Asian or African).

By themselves the passages quoted are connected only by tenuous threads. It is a long way from the early nineteenth-century work of the Greek Adamantios Korais to Josiah Kariuki's description of the Mau Mau oath. There is great variety too in the form and the purpose of the passages cited—matter of rather vital importance, since most of them are political documents.

Professor Kedourie's introduction provides a certain unifying theme because, as we know from his earlier work, he is against nationalism. He argues that nationalism in Asia and Africa has an "alien character". His assertion is valid if it means that nationalist theories in Asia and Africa are very often derivative and in any case add little of theoretical value to the thought of earlier European writers. None the less nationalist movements have been successful against imperial rule. Professor Kedourie's reaction to this fact ranges from petulance to deep pessimism—petulance that Fagan's dichotomy between the world of the settlers and that of the colonized should, in spite of its exaggeration,

be powerful political writing; pessimism expressed in the tortuous concluding sentences:

Theory has become the opium of the masses. Marx, however, was wrong in thinking opium a mere soporific. As the Old Man of the Mountain—whose "theory" was so potent that legend has transmuted it into *kavihihi*—could have told him, the drug may also excite its addicts to a frenzy of destruction.

The question which springs to mind in reading this great variety of documents is naturally that of the relation of their intellectual argument to political action. How many people read them? In what social class? Did they take them seriously? It is rarely possible to answer these

## Federal dreamer

LEO MARQUARD: *A Federation of Southern Africa*

142pp. Oxford University Press. £2.

After the failure of the Central African Federation, only an optimistic would seriously contemplate another federation in southern Africa. Leo Marquard who is that rare type, a liberal Afrikaner, retains his faith in the future although well aware of the weaknesses of his fellow-countrymen. His argument is sustained by the assumption that the present promise of independence for the Baolustans is genuine. Perhaps so; but it is too early to tell what kind of independence will be conceded and it is viable in the second decade of the Transkei's constitutional development. In any event, experience since the winds of change blew from Britain and France out of Africa has shown how little depends on legal forms and how much on economic substance once the road to self-determination is taken. Partition of South Africa would accomplish little

while the Transvaal and the province remain, as they have, by far the richest and most powerful of the dominions of eleven envisaged (including former British protectorates) as Namibia but excluding Rhodesia.

A closer look at the toll of lions that have failed, not only in Africa, since 1945 might have led Mr Marquard's optimism to one thing, a federation of the supreme court at its centre to protect the constitution and the human rights which (as the codebooks would be an estimate of it) would only while they defend individual liberties stoutly than their predecessors in the 1960s? Such questions only to be asked to indicate how the structure of the argument Marquard has refrained from signing a blueprint to a federal dream down to earth but leaves the reader unconvinced.

At all times pure to the pure, and lewd to the lewd? Or is there some innate quality in "obscene" object which entices obscene thoughts? The comparative study of religions seems to indicate that there is no such quality, that the Pakistanis pursued a deliberate policy of "obscenity" in East Bengal, and in expressing moral disapproval in ignorance of what was by a skilled and deliberate misinformation through all for us to examine this process in our own culture without the prejudices inherent in such a subjective matter: the study of a foreign culture offers the possibility of a more objective view, in spite of the constant bias of cultural relativity and simple he decided that he would understand of an alien psychology of Pakistan to tell the story. India provides rich ground for book is very much a case of the wide variety of sexual and with most of the phenomena in Indian religions, and the drama he describes; in clashes and encounters between dotal, personal, with all the different moral systems in India.

One must begin by distinguishing between sexual and obscene religious manifestations. The former appear, one form or another, in almost every religion; one has only to think of the Song of Solomon, Saint Teresa, James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Margaret Mead's *Sumo*. But in the broader sense may be said to underlie every religion: the erotic impulse is always present, how much it may be masked or challenged by opposing forces of Max Weber has inelegantly termed "routinization"; the Dionysian strain is always at war with the Apollonian. When Eros is reintroduced into a religion after it has been institutionalized, the worshipper may turn to mysticism (on an intellectual plane) or sexuality (on an emotional plane). The transition between sexuality and obscenity may be sought where there is a firm opposition between two states of mind; obscenity is a difference of opinion about sexual phenomena, the *apollonian* of obscenity arises from the presence of a conflict of moral standards. The worshipper's sense of "obscenity" comes when his erotic impulses clash with some external standard; such a conflict may occur between two phases of a single culture such as arose when traditional Indian religion was forced to recognize new, heterodox cults, between two cultures (such as arose when the Europeans first encountered Indian religion), or even in the mind of one person (a state of mind which one may identify as moral hypocrisy). Each instance offers us separate insights into how the idea of obscenity arises in the religious context.

Accusations of obscenity occur in India at several traditional stages. The earliest Indian scriptures, the Vedas (c. 1500-1200 BC) mention the exploits of Indra, king of the gods, who is closely related to Zeus in the Indo-European pantheon: an excessive drinker and an insatiable lover, he is a phallic god whose exploits about his sexual prowess are the subject of the Vedas. In the course of the centuries the lusty spirit of the Vedas was subjected to the revisions and interpretations of the rising priestly class of Brahmins, who were distinctly inconvenienced by the immorality of Indra. During this second period (up to AD 300), Indra ceased



Ascetic Indian sages tempted by a celestial prostitute.

## THE ABUSES OF LITERACY—3

## Obscenity in religion

BY WENDY O'FLAHERTY

to be an object of devotion and began to be the subject of a number of Rabelaisian anecdotes: caught in the act of adultery, he was branded by the cuckold with a thousand images of the *yoni* (the female genitalia); on another occasion, a Brahmin fell in love with an ogress who, having 1,000 yonis, refused to marry him unless he could produce a corresponding number of male organs; the Brahmin prayed to Indra and was granted the necessary parts. Once Indra began to decline in importance in the Hindu pantheon, the unsteady sensibilities of his myth-makers transformed him from a respectable fertility god into

a disreputable libertine. At this point, Sanskrit literature began to represent him as obscene. Other Vedic gods became "obscene" during this period. A Vedic myth which has parallels throughout the world is the tale of the incest committed by Brahma, the creator, with his daughter. Incestuous creation is made philosophically necessary by the premise (widely held among primitive peoples) that one primeval substance or person creates a second from within himself and proceeds to mate with it. When the Vedic myth of Brahma fell into the hands of the moralizing Brahmins,

they immediately created an avenging god to punish Brahma for doing "what must not be done". Once the myth had been made obscene in this way, would-be libertines throughout classical Indian literature justified their onours by saying: "Brahma himself debauched his daughter; therefore what can be expected of mere mortals?" (The worshipper's opinion that his god may be obscene raises complex moral problems when the god's behaviour is posited as an ethical model. In general, orthodox Hindus forestalled such profane imitations by proclaiming a doctrine of "Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi".)

A similar reinterpretation sometimes occurs through the transference of an idea from ritual to myth. In Vedic cult, the elixir of immortality (Soma) is placed in a fire which is said to carry it to all the gods. In later texts, this ritual appears in a myth in which the seed of Shiva (which is said to be Soma) is placed in the mouth of the god of fire (Agni), who carries it to the gods. Once the act had become a mythomorphosis, the myth-maker felt constrained to introduce statements that Agni had done a "disgusting" thing in drinking the seed (an act frowned upon even in

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E. J. BRILL, LEIDEN

the permissive *Kama Sutra*, and that he and the gods became pregnant by the seed and were a laughing-stock in heaven, as well as suffering considerable physical discomfort. This myth is clearly considered obscene by the later redactor; yet the ritual from which it is derived is not even sexual in nature.

If such misunderstandings can arise even within a culture, it is not surprising that accusations of obscenity should often when two different cultures meet: often, the superimposition of a foreign culture serves to catalyze moralizing tendencies within the primary culture itself. Such a process may be seen in the changing attitude toward Indian yoga, who from the earliest times have been credited with powers of fertility. In spite of the genuine and complex philosophical basis of these ideas, conventional Hindus have often regarded the yogis with suspicion and treated them as hypocritical leeches; an early Sanskrit text remarks that a billyogai and a learned Brahmin are the two most lewd of all beings.

This bad reputation was exacerbated when Europeans came into contact with Hindu priests who claimed to be able to impregnate women who spent a night in their temples: early in the nineteenth century, the Abbé Dubois recorded such a claim and remarked, "I must draw a curtain over the sequel of this deceitful suggestion. The reader already guesses at it." More recently, Eric Newby wrote of an encounter with a yogi whose disciple said that the yogi had a "special kiss between legs for barren women. He is waiting to give this kiss to a lady in the hotel who is barren, but husband is not allowing it." It is difficult to judge the yogi's intention in the Indian context; but the implication that the lady at the hotel is a European gives the European reader a sense of the obscene: habitual moral attitudes clash sharply with any attempt to accept a religious motive for the yogi's suggestion.

A series of transitions, both within the single culture and in the meeting of two cultures, may be seen in the changing attitudes toward the stone *linga*, a phallic symbol which is the emblem of Shiva and the most widely worshipped Indian icon. Originally a phallus represented with unmistakable anatomical details, it soon became so broadly iconized that it is doubtful whether the worshippers who carried it as a physical object. But the *Shiva linga* then became resexualized, and appears occasionally in tribal myth and medieval sculpture as a kind of dildo; there is even an injunction in a Sanskrit scriptural text against using the *linga* in this way. When Englishmen of the Victorian period came to India, they were aghast at the implications of the *linga*; one writer said that he would not let his readers what the stone represented, since he was certain that they would simply not believe him.

This attitude of the foreign con-



Erotic skeleton, servant of Shiva.

querors must have further influenced the Indians themselves in their admiring embarrassment over the erotic aspects of their own religion; and some Hindus pursued an emulative English writer that the *linga* was simply a small model of the sacred *stupa* or relic mound, totally devoid of any sexual significance.

Indians had the final word in the debate over the *linga*'s obscenity, however: in one South Indian temple there is an image of a European woman who is unmistakably Queen Victoria, kneeling in devout worship before the image of a *Shiva linga*. If the intent of this tableau is satirical (which is most likely), then the *linga* in this case can only be obscene.

In these various ways, the idea of obscenity may arise when two religious currents intermingling. More subtle, and equally important, is the second type of obscenity, which arises from a moral clash within the mind of an individual. When a

hypocrisy may produce the type of pornography typical of the Victorians; often, this is the result of the same sort of transitional morality that is at work when two cultures interact. An example of this phenomenon may be seen in the Indian cult of the Pashupati, who used to perform "animal" vows which probably involved sexual excesses of some sort; later, when they were absorbed into the mainstream of Hinduism, the Pashupati were ascribed of their previous habits and began to perform a mere level minute instead. The "practices" did not stop here, however, but was reversed again into a more unusual sort of hypocrisy: the Pashupati purposely made a point of appearing in the more immodest than they actually were. Underlying this deception was the Indian belief that a man unjustly consumed exchanges his own previously unearned bad moral credits (*karman*) for the good *karman* of his censorer. Thus the virtuous Pashupati would pretend to lust after women: passers-by would say, "Look at the lecher, who pretends to be a holy man", and thus he would gain his ends.

The Pashupati would maintain that he was not obscene; yet he had purposely created a charade of obscenity and had, in effect, intruded obscenity into the mind of the passer-by. The state of mind of the devotee is obviously the central issue here, as it was in the case of the erotic yogis (where it was equally difficult to assess). With obscenity of this type is thus the inverse of religious hypocrisy: where the latter is lust masquerading as purity, the former is purity masquerading as lust. The Black Mass of medieval Europe is the best known example of such intentional obscenity: every element was purposely selected to shock and offend a virgin defiled upon an altar lit with black candles, etc. Reversals of this sort seek to gain inviolable power, but they do so by invoking exaggerated patterns of eros as a revolutionary factor, and this aspect of the Black Mass is certainly obscene. This psychology appears in India in the Tantras, texts which advocate the ritual use of all that is anathema to the Hindu, including sexual intercourse with Untouchable women.

Tantrics maintain that there is nothing sensual about their rites, and that the absence of sensuality is inherent in their state of mind; i.e. when sensual acts are performed without any emotional involvement, the devotee proves that he is further beyond such sensuality than is the man who foregoes them completely. (This philosophy underlies Mahatma Gandhi's custom of sleeping with a naked young girl in order to demonstrate and strengthen his chastity.) If we accept this premise, then obviously the more obscene the act that one performs without emotion, the greater the achievement. This reasoning occasionally led to a kind of wrong-mindedness that may be seen even in the actions of the god

and thirteenth century which go to make up these two very minor writings of Ibn 'Arabi are, even by historiographical standards, extremely jejune—chance meetings, very often, on which to hang some bannal and sometimes quite pointless story. There is nothing to suggest that Ibn 'Arabi was a very considerable mystical theologian rather he emerges as a magician only interested in such phenomena as clairvoyance, thought-reading, bilocation, etc. The following excerpt is not untypical of this work:

One night, very late, a man knocked on his door calling for a piece of cow's liver: he went to the door to see who might want such a thing from him. Since he had a cow in his possession, a voice within him said, "We are about to ask you for something you possess." At this he recalled that he did indeed have a cow; no he took a knife, slaughtered the cow, and gave his liver to the man at the door.

The point of the story would seem to be anyone's guess.

Ibn 'Arabi has not been served well by his devotees. Since A. E. Affix's *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid-Din-Ibn 'Arabi* (1939) which at least tried to elucidate the obscurities of this difficult author, we have had to be content with Henri Corbin's *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, the tortuous ambiguities of which make confusion worse confounded. Was it to correct this excess that Dr Austin decided to translate two works that show Ibn 'Arabi at his most banal and that the Spalding Trust made a grant for the publication of this enormous book at the not inconsiderable price of £3.50?

The twenty-nine pages on the life and work of Ibn 'Arabi are innocuous enough, the ten pages on "The Sufi Way" tell us more about Dr Austin than Sufism. It is to be hoped that Dr Austin will give us something more substantial about his chosen hero in the not too distant future.

Shiva himself (who is said to be the author of many of the Tantras) is said to have taken his own wife, rather than his in the lawful manner.

Nevertheless, some Tantras state that their texts and practices, that they appeal to a lower nature in order to gradually free the mind from the realm of religion where it is no longer related to self-awareness, so that, "It is better to pray with the mind on all," they say, "than to be on all." But here yet another counter-criteria so subjective that it is impossible to grant its premises. H. A. Williams's inquiry into the roots of the most fundamental of Christian beliefs, which he finds to be much cited above, in separate treatises of the East than in those of the West, must be assessed within the context of the author's own concerns.

Yet something should surely be said, if not in defence then at least in explanation, of a classical theology that has traditionally seen the data of revelation as objectively true: evidence that calls for examination, and, if found, imperative to "internalization". Thus the truth it proclaims and demands acceptance in faith. God's word, of the out-dated myths of the past, has been uttered at all, must of necessity be true. The events by which he sought to fashion his word into man-made incarnate unascend heresies of the past and Tantrics with the same ends as Pashupati, on the other hand, to preserve the erotic impulse and to preserve the biblical narratives, retires used obscenity as a weapon against the intruder who dares to question the sacred. The intent of the work is the relative moral viewpoint of the observer—these are the only standards, and they are ultimately sufficient for a final judgment on obscenity in religion.

Healy O'Flaherty is Lecturer in Ancient History of South Asia at the University of London.

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## Resurrection here and now

H. A. WILLIAMS: True Resurrection

122pp. Mitchell Beazley. £1.50.

In exchanging the courts of Cambridge for the cloisters of Mirfield, the former Dean of Trinity has evidently not abandoned his conviction that theological enquiry is basically related to self-awareness, so that, whatever else theology is, it must in some sense be a theology of the self. So subjective a view of the scope of theology disarms criticism. Granted its premises, H. A. Williams's inquiry into the roots of the most fundamental of Christian beliefs, which he finds to be much cited above, in separate treatises of the East than in those of the West, must be assessed within the context of the author's own concerns.

Yet something should surely be said, if not in defence then at least in explanation, of a classical theology that has traditionally seen the data of revelation as objectively true: evidence that calls for examination, and, if found, imperative to "internalization". Thus the truth it proclaims and demands acceptance in faith. God's word, of the out-dated myths of the past, has been uttered at all, must of necessity be true. The events by which he sought to fashion his word into man-made incarnate unascend heresies of the past and Tantrics with the same ends as Pashupati, on the other hand, to preserve the erotic impulse and to preserve the biblical narratives, retires used obscenity as a weapon against the intruder who dares to question the sacred. The intent of the work is the relative moral viewpoint of the observer—these are the only standards, and they are ultimately sufficient for a final judgment on obscenity in religion.

This is not the approach of *True Resurrection*. Here will be found no argument to support the biblical narrative; no suggestion that the redemptive event of resurrection is mediated to men through the Church that is the body of Christ. It may seem unjust to complain of an author's omissions before acknowledging his positive achievements. But the very title of the book proclaims a radical article of Christian belief, one moreover that is validated in the ministry of word and sacrament alike—repro-

senting as they do the continuing redemptive work of Christ as Lord.

*True Resurrection* nevertheless reflects a profound concern for the dynamic element in Christian faith which enables the believer to continue to rise from the dead self of his alienation to a new life that has no ending. It is existential in its constant concern for the kind of validation we can experience in our own lives. What is in question is not a dogma of faith to be defended, but a dynamic truth which can be seen to transform the burden of being human. Here is the new dimension of hope, however unspecified, and a release from bondage, however subjective it is often made to seem. If this sometimes leads to a rhetoric that is hard to reconcile with the biblical narrative or with the Christian tradition, it at least releases the doctrine from the shackles of a formula that is merely reiterated, as though it had little to offer in terms of man's own experience and need. But Mr Williams's complaint remains, namely that the church very early on sold itself to rigid conceptualization, claiming to be the repository of truth, reducing everything in heaven and on earth to its own dogmatically proclaimed boundaries and equating the Eternal Word with its own cult-idol and the particular systems of beliefs which fasten it to the wall.

If, in attempting to rescue the concept of resurrection from the formularies of dogmatic decrees, a subjective approach is preferred, that can indeed evoke a human response. The frequent analogies that are drawn from human experience are a lively reminder of what is the effect of man's isolation from his world—and indeed from his true self—in cutting him off from God. Psychological insights of this kind are certainly valuable; and arguments drawn from human loneliness or failure, from the process of learning and loving, from suffering seen as creative and from transforming life is death-dealing into what is life-giving, can touch the heart where the dead reiteration of inherited doctrine can fail.

This, then, a living theology, a realization that the Eternal Word is manifest "in the form of a figure whose wounds are his glory and whose death is his resurrection". The danger evidently is that rhetoric can take the place, if not of reason

then of an openness to what the biblical accounts declare and what the Christian tradition proclaims. Thus, to say that "the miracle of our being given life beyond the grave is no greater than the miracle of our continually being given life here" is to evade the resurrection of Christ, a unique event, and as such the ground of the Christian hope of immortality. Perhaps that hope may be counted illusory. But in any case it can hardly be equated with the fact of living.

The Christian belief in the resurrection is so radical an assault on the categories of our usual understanding that the events in which it is, in Christian tradition, embodied, must be taken seriously. Here they are hardly discussed at all, as though the "true" resurrection had little need to be related to the risen glory of Christ as a matter of history. Without entering into a linguistic analysis of "miracle", in the quotation above, as something that is by definition unique and beyond the ordinary range of nature, we can note the less question such a reduction of the unique, salvific event of Christ's resurrection from the dead, which, for St Paul and the undeviating Christian tradition, can of its nature know no parallel.

One can indeed sympathize with the urge to free a Christian doctrine from the shackles of an unconceivable past. One can recognize the insight which seeks at every point to interpret human life and human hope in terms of a reality other than the sun of our measurable experience. Yet the paradox remains, and is far from resolved by a final admission that "the source of our confidence cannot be defined... And resurrection ceases to be resurrection and becomes no more than another example of human handling, a futile extravaganza, once it is pinned down in a definition. No doubt; but, for the Christian at least, resurrection is rooted in a person and a place and a recorded moment in time. If they are by-passed, and all that is left is a conviction that finds analogies, true and precious though they be, in a psychological analysis of man's need, we can perhaps legitimately ask whether we need the Gospels or the Church at all.

## We must go on asking

HEINZ ZAHNERT: What Kind of God? A Question of Faith Translated by R. A. Wilson 79pp. SCM Press. £2.80.

This is a forceful and more elaborate sequel to Heinz Zahnert's *A Question of God*, which was strongly commended in these columns (October 1969). The German title of the present book, *Gott kann nicht sterben*, was perhaps more challenging than the limited English version. For, as Herr Zahnert says forthrightly on his first page, "God does not die when man ceases to ask for him, but man ceases to be man when he no longer asks the question". And if it is not asking that question theology is "uninteresting and dispensable".

Theologians have for some years been attempting to exorcise a theology without God, whose death they do so confidently announced—it was they, not the secularists, who announced it—confusing an epistemological statement (our difficulty about knowing God) with the ontological statement that God is not. The result, says the author, is either an anthropology or nonsense—and he has no doubt which is the better predicament.

Yet what kind of God can theology be about? For most men do not or cannot believe any more in the Lord who o'er all things so wondrously reigneth. It has ceased to be the authoritative premise taken for granted in Western society, which rests on the contrary assumption

tion. The absence of God has become a positive creed. But yet the question is still being asked in the search for meaning—that is, for something absolute and unconditional—is the life of man. Men suffer because their existence seems to be meaningless in a secularized and technical society. They fear not the wrath of God but his absence and therefore seek, not like our forefathers, for a gracious God so much as for a real one. Can God justify himself to men in such a world as we know today?

If theology is to speak to the non-theological about a real God, it must be an empirical theology; and theological statements must be verified in our everyday secular existence. Such verification can only be existential; and most of Herr Zahnert's book is concerned with working out how the biblical and Christian affirmations about man's experience of God can be so verified. That God must be known "in the world or nowhere" does not mean, however, that he can be read off from the workings of nature or the course of history—which too often seem to yield negative evidence. Experience of God has always been in spite of the outward appearances of things and its watchword, says Herr Zahnert, is always "nevertheless".

The author has some blistering comments to make on the lunatic proposition of "Christian atheism". Jesus of course, people say, but why God? Yet what special significance has Jesus apart from his relation to God? Eliminate that, and they will

soon be saying "our common humanity, of course, but why Jesus?" and thus relapse into purely secular humanism.

A theology which is "nothing but politics" which invokes Jesus simply as the leader of social and political revolution, with hardly a reference to God at all, is not the true alternative to positivism. It is indeed destructive and self-defeating for it means more cruelty and more oppression; and it fully contradicts what we know about the historical Jesus and his radical transformation of Messianism. His primary, central and unique significance is as the revealer of God and the love of God as the ultimate truth of the universe. That is something that men can no longer take for granted—it "fell in actual, at Verdun at the Intest". Camus observed (in *The Myth of Sisyphus*) that if men could realize that the universe, like themselves, could love and suffer, they would be reconciled. What Camus demanded is here disclosed. The life and death of Jesus are "the justification of God in face of the absurdity of the world... God himself has solved the problem of theology".

Here we have some excellent popular theology, even if some of the names and allusions inevitably escape the English reader. But the author is well posted in what is happening here, and he has a remarkable feel for the English idiom. As religious editor of the *Sunday Express*, Herr Zahnert knows that the test of writing is readability, and his book, like the former one, is compellingly readable.

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COLLINS







# TLS

71st Year 28 January 1972 No. 3,468

## Commentary

It is now some eighteen months since a publishing branch was founded within the Science, Technical and Managerial Staffs and began for the first time to tackle the question of a union organization for members of this slightly unusual industry. In that time it has made an encouraging start, with recognition by the Clarendon Press last autumn and the establishment of a lively and informative newsletter called *Prior Our* (11p quarterly from 58a Ridgmont Gardens, London WC11, of which the second issue has just appeared. This contains a critical "profile" of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, together with the chairman of Hodder and Stoughton's comments on and corrections to the previous issue's profile of his firm.

Last Saturday ASTMS held an all-day meeting or "Workshop" in the FUC's Congress Hall to discuss "the problems of the industry". As a meeting this was a success, with over 200 people taking part (of whom only about half were members of the union) and paying up to £1 for their tickets. As a discussion it was much less so, though the basic situation—

a group of predominantly young publishing employees questioning the whole structure and purpose of everything to do with books—was plainly a healthy one, and something of a relief after the rather narrower commercial-mindedness of the Society of Young Publishers. These kids, the outlooker felt, had no particular wish to whizz.

John Ladder hit the nail on the head at the end of the day, when the topic of publishers' social responsibility was being debated in the hall's slightly deadening atmosphere, by asking why a meeting so concerned with querying the structure of British publishing could not have done so more radically and constructively, instead of breaking it all up into "putte" little sub-discussions such as he felt had wasted a perfectly good Saturday for him. He hit it too hard perhaps, but it would certainly have been better if the topics had been more precisely formulated; if there had been less of a barrier between platform (five successive panels of about half-a-dozen talkers each) and floor; and if the latter's role had not been limited at the outset to the asking of questions. The result was that too much of the day was spent on generalities or the defining of known arguments and situations. The large number of excellent minds present never really met.

In the first session, on "creativity versus profitability", for instance, there was an unresolvable clash on the platform between the view that marginal books which lose money are probably bad ones (Maurice Temple Smith) and the counter-claim (by Ed Victor) that the publisher must remain in a position to publish what he knows won't sell—an important point for the union since a high-wage industry is likely to cut down on marginal books. In the second, which voiced the complaints of authors, B. S. Johnson restated his case for authors' cooperative (outlined three

years ago in *New Society*, supported by Alan Burns, who cited the German Verlag der Autoren, though without mentioning any numbers or titles of books published. Michael Sissons, the only agent to speak, was gloomy about the prospects for hardcover publishing in this country, which "has backed itself up a blind alley in the last ten years"; while I. G. Ballant, in much the most entertaining of these contributions, was equally pessimistic about our fiction editors, whom he accused of wanting their authors to go on always producing the same thing, and accordingly found much less alert than the magazine editors with whom (as a writer of science fiction) he also deals.

In the session on editing, too, problems were thrown up but not really tackled. Anthony Godwin of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, who made the main statement from the platform, described the modern editor as the nearest substitute for the old-style publisher, now that company chairmen tend to concentrate more on the financial side. Forty books a year was the maximum for an editor to deal with, he thought, though he had on occasion been so strong as to manage three and ten. But the turnover targets were set for him and sometimes, he admitted, "I publish a bit of rubbish because I can't make my targets". The need, so all this panel seemed to agree, was for more "acquisition discipline", a push away of saying that editors should take on fewer and better books. Some concern was expressed about the lack of openings for young editors—and indeed one of the authors earlier had spoken of Mr Godwin and Tom Maschler of Jonathan Cape as the last of their kind. Dieter Pesner of Penguin Books suggested that the important thing was for editors to have elbow-room in which to make mistakes, and that many publishers' lists were too small to allow this: at

the same time he called for greater decentralization by the big firms. The editor's function in preparing and improving the book was barely mentioned, though Harold Harris was confident that editorial rewriting was a rarity in this country. "Print and new technologies", the first of the afternoon sessions, concentrated, not unconvincingly, on the audio-visual innovations, for educational ends. Tony Trehble of Sussex University gave a particularly hair-raising account of the abandon with which educationalists will invest in expensive new equipment. "They'll try anything once," Bryan Winston suggested that the best thing to do with it was to give it to the pupils to master in their own way. A few McLuhanite kites were floated and/or shot down, and Robin Prior of Nelson called for the evolution of some kind of "concrete prose": but no mention was made of small offset and other techniques which would allow publishing to develop as the "collage industry" proposed by Gabriel Pearson in the final session on social responsibility.

Here the panel came out strongly in favour of the small publisher as being the likeliest to back his own judgment (social, political or artistic) against commercial orthodoxy, though the view was also expressed that, pending a better society, the publisher's social responsibility was to give the public what it wants, or simply to survive. Assuming the importance of such small firms, whose difficulties of distribution and censorship were factually described by Richard Handyside, publisher of *The Little Red Schoolbook*, the question was raised whether the union's pressure for better wages might not drive them out of business, or into the arms of the bigger and richer groups.

So at least the meeting helped to establish some of the problems which

the union with these admittedly interests needs to face. The thing we would like to see it do, he to isolate the most crucial of both the immediate ones and which may arise in the near future and to argue out the remedies in rather smaller groups, as we understand it, how the organs, minds are already working, and then anyone who felt frustrated Saturday's performance should patient. The important thing is a fresh wind is perhaps about to blow through the middle and lower echelons of British publishing. Once it has concentrated itself it could be a substantial amount of good.

The Welsh Arts Council has just announced that after February 5, a valedictory lyric from Dannie Abi is ending its Dial-A-Poem service. It does not say why, which is a sound flustering enough; in the years the service has been given, 100 poems in both English and Welsh, and nearly 60,000 calls have been received from verse-lovers. Even allowing for a few wrong numbers and the inevitable nuisance callers, dialling no doubt, the official offering of the Welsh Arts Council is a handsome one. The Welsh Arts Council has just announced that after February 5, a valedictory lyric from Dannie Abi is ending its Dial-A-Poem service. It does not say why, which is a sound flustering enough; in the years the service has been given, 100 poems in both English and Welsh, and nearly 60,000 calls have been received from verse-lovers. Even allowing for a few wrong numbers and the inevitable nuisance callers, dialling no doubt, the official offering of the Welsh Arts Council is a handsome one.

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In 1872, we are told by his biographers, "Ruskin saw in Mr Ellis's possession a fine copy of the *Caprichos* of Goya and commented on its hideousness, adding that it was only fit to be burnt". Mr Ellis agreed with him, and putting the volume into the empty grate (for it was in August) he and Ruskin set to work to burn it. A few years earlier, in 1868, the English critic P. G. Hamerton had little good to say of Goya as an etcher, and though there were a few notable exceptions (Stirling Maxwell and William Bell Scott, for example) there is no doubt that in England in the nineteenth century Goya was well behind France in its awareness of the extraordinary genius who had died in exile in the latter country in 1828.

Things are certainly very different now. The bicentenary of the birth of Francisco Goya was celebrated in 1946 just after the close of a war whose disasters, in technical human suffering and the brutal extermination of whole populations, rivaled—had in some respects far exceeded—the scenes of cruelty so indelibly etched first in the mind, and later in the hand, of the great Spanish artist. Even more recent events—the Second World War make his indignities of human cruelty, ignorance and folly as powerful today as they were when he etched the "Caprichos" and "Desastres de la Guerra", or created the drawings in *Album C*; one has only to think, for instance, of how the tarred and feathered girl in an unforgettable photograph from Belfast is echoed again in Goya's shackled female slaves with bowed heads, and in the lightningly apposite titles under them—"porque fue sensible" or "porque se con quien quiso" (for marrying whom she wished).

Goya's role, indeed, as the mirror of an unchanging human condition has been more starkly revealed than ever before, and the comparative lack of critical studies which in the intervening years had already recognized the universal aspect of Goya's genius has now become a flood that in its range specialized or partisan aspects (Edith Hellman and Francis D. Klingender, for instance) threatens to distort the complete interpretation of Goya that modern scholarship and research can undoubtedly now supply. The recent publication, therefore, of two important and comprehensive monographs, each accompanied by a catalogue and published, respectively, in English and French and English and Spanish editions is a major event in the bibliography of the artist, for together they do not only bring completely up to date not only the historical facts recorded by his biographers (Valentin Carder, Laurent Mathurin, Charles Courcier) and still being unearthed in Spain—but also the great interpretative studies of Aureliano de Beruete, José Sánchez Cantón, and Enrique Lafuente Ferrari; the researches of Joaquín de Sainza on the tapestry designs; and the rarer attempts at a partial catalogue raisonné, such as that of Valerian Van Laga, Albert F. Berruete, August L. Mayer, and Xavier Desarmenil-Fitz-Gerald.

Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, two books which for once really bring the artist's work to the attention of a complete account of his life and work of Goya with a catalogue and reproductions of every one of his paintings, drawings, and engravings in a single volume; José Gudiol, slightly less ambitious, has dealt with the paintings only (with some tangential references to the graphic work) in three volumes of plates and one of text, in this respect becoming the successor to Desarmenil-Fitz-Gerald's *L'oeuvre peint de Goya*; also in four volumes, which was begun in 1928 but only published posthumously in 1950. If to the Gudiol and Gassier volumes we add those of the late Tomás Harris (1964) with their definitive catalogue of the engravings, and the exhaustive survey of the Black Paintings published in the same year by Sánchez Cantón and Xavier de Salas, it will readily be seen that the material for a radical reappraisal of Goya, aided also by exhibitions such as that at the Royal Academy in 1963-64 and of *The Hague and Paris* in 1970, has never been more abundant, or prepared by more competent hands.

As Ortega y Gasset is rightly said, "if there is an artist who needs to be understood and explained as well as seen it is Goya, especially if, as would seem essential, his work is looked at as a whole". It is this total view, coupled with the right degree of detachment, which makes a book such as that by M. Gassier and Miss Wilson so valuable both as



Self-propelled beggar in Bordeaux

**PIERRE GASSIER and JULIET WILSON:**  
*Goya*  
His Life and Work  
Edited by François Lachenal  
Translated by Christine Hauch and Juliet Wilson  
400pp with 2,148 illustrations.  
Thames and Hudson, £21.

**JOSE GUDIOL y RICART:**  
*Goya*  
Biography, Analytical Study, and Catalogue of his Paintings  
Volume 1: Text, 414pp. Volumes 2, 3 and 4: Plates, 1,018pp.  
Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafica, 14,100ptas the set.

is marked by violent crises, some personal (his illness, his disappointments), some social (wars and revolutions), and each crisis gave rise to a new Goya, unforeseen and astonishingly different. This has led to the free use of a term from modern physics in describing him as a "quantum" artist, one who advances by sudden creative leaps rather than through the steady evolution of his artistic gifts.

The exact nature of these "leaps" and the chronology of the large corpus of undated work, his always exercised Goya scholars, but the areas of speculation have been reduced in recent years by similar "leaps" or milestones in the literature, such as the identification by Xavier de Salas, and consequent firm terminus ante quem dating, of the paintings by Goya in the inventory compiled in 1812 in the death of his wife, and the recognition by the same

scholar of twelve small paintings on tin-plate as those that Goya submitted to the Academy of San Fernando in 1794 and which were described by him as "a set of cabinet pictures in which I have been able to make observations normally impossible in commissioned works which give no scope for fantasy and invention". These discoveries have considerably altered some of the earlier ideas of Goya's evolution, just as the emergence of several new early religious and mythological paintings and sketches have strengthened the sense of Goya's achievement before the 1792-93 crisis of his deafness—a period until now generally regarded as "backward-looking" but one which contains, as Sr Gudiol has particularly stressed, the seeds of his future genius.

Although modern researches have enabled both authors to slot a number of undated paintings and their related drawings comfortably into place, the "intercalation" of many others remains by no means an easy task, and M. Gassier and Miss Wilson are the first to admit that their grouping (particularly that of the small genre series Goya did for his own amusement) is in some cases tentative and needs further study. Moreover space has clearly not allowed them, in brief catalogue entries supplemented by footnotes, to give the same "reasoned" arguments for dating, and so on, on technical and stylistic grounds, as Sr Gudiol, with only the paintings to deal with, has been able to suggest.

On the other hand—and this alone is a great feat—M. Gassier and Miss Wilson have for the first time marshalled in one catalogue the entire corpus of Goya's drawings, illustrated side by side with their related paintings and engravings. This is a tremendous and a real need for the contributions in this aspect of Goya's work by Lafuente Ferrari, Sánchez Cantón, Harry B. Wehle, Eleanor A. Skyr, José López-Rey, and other scholars to be fully collected and for all the individual drawings and the eight albums from the early Sanlúcar to the late Bordeaux (or from A to H as they are now known) to be consecutively presented (in this task one senses help behind the scenes from another distinguished Goya scholar and close collaborator of the authors, Enriquech Harri-Frankfort).

Collaboration in the fullest sense is also indicated in the quotation of Sr Gudiol's catalogue numbers and many other acknowledgments in the Gassier-Wilson text; in this respect the compilation of a detailed concordance between the two catalogues (688 paintings in Gassier-Wilson, as against 772 in Gudiol) would clearly be revealing and would show the extent to which Goya's autograph oeuvre is still in question, especially as regards the early religious work: though it should be pointed out that a final assessment of some of Sr Gudiol's recent discoveries in Spain is still difficult, as they are known even to Gassier-Wilson only from photographs. Their publication, however, in both books brings much interesting illumination to Goya's early development and, on the evidence that they supply, it is surprising how little stress is laid in either book on the influence on the young Goya of Corrado Chiavito, the Neapolitan painter who was a predecessor of Mengs and Tiepolo at Madrid, and whose many works in Spain must

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## Our beloved Billy

PHILIP ZIEGLER:  
*King William IV*  
335pp plus 17 plates. Collins, £3.50.

When King William IV died, the diarist, Charles Greville, after noting that the excitement of coming to the throne when he was sixty-five almost drove him mad, remarked that he was something of a blackguard and something more of a huffoon. No one could possibly dispute the latter description, but the former invites contradiction. In the sense that no king since the days of Charles II had lived as close to the people as William IV had, there is perhaps in that narrow sense some room for Greville's charge. But in the wider sense it is surely unfounded: for the King, though in the Senior Service, might have sung with Tummy Atkins:

An if sometimes our conduct isn't all  
your fancy points,  
Why, single men in barracks don't grow  
into plaster saints.

This splendid biography of the King, which in style, judgment and descriptive power is of the highest quality, certainly convinces us that he was no plaster saint. During intervals between service with the Royal Navy he was in Germany and spent much of his time with ladies of the town. Writing to his eldest brother from Hannover he says that he hated "this damnable country, smoking, playing at twopenny whist, and wearing great thick boots. Oh! for England and the pretty girls of Westminster." That sentence seems to sum up the King for us; he was incurably English and fatally susceptible.

King William had two characteristics which are certainly not the finest foundation for English sovereignty. He was irreverent. He was not irreverent about sacred things, but he was not irreverent about the Church. It was rather that he was irreverent about secular

things, even family matters, and the sacredness of monarchy strikes deep into the heart of members of the Royal Family. He referred to his father as "the old boy". And the remarks which he was apt to throw out reveal his irreverence. Though no reader of books and therefore not well-qualified to judge, he wounds a respectable class of his fellow-countrymen when he says: "I know no person so perfectly dangerous and disagreeable as an author."

He may well have endeared himself to Lancelotians when he amiably remarked that he was surprised to find so much civilization in such an out-of-the-way county as Yorkshire, but it is hardly what we look for in a member of the Royal Family. Such remarks—and they are beautifully displayed by Philip Ziegler—enliven many a page of this biography but they betray a certain flippancy of mind, a weakness for prating and perhaps even a lack of sensitivity. We can see this by the remark he made when George III went finally mad: "They have turned the key upon the King, he will come back no more."

Perhaps a somewhat similar lack of feeling was manifest when he cast aside Mrs Jordan after an association of twenty years. In the arrangements which he made afterwards he behaved, as Mr Ziegler amusingly says, "not well but rather better than might have been expected". Connections of this kind in those days with members of the Royal Family were never expected to last for ever—Mrs Fitzherbert and Mme de St Laurent were both discarded in much the same way as was Mrs Jordan. We can hardly avoid weeping for Mrs Jordan, but as the author says, she was probably not taken by surprise. But what must invite condemnation is that William abandoned this charming woman for the idea of the married state; when he left Mrs Jordan he seems to have had no particular personal feelings, as soon as he was free, he sought out other women, and his cousins to intentions which were rather boringly honourable. Never has any similar wooed in rapid succession such a collection of totally

unsuitable brides. As the news of these proposals came into general circulation a wit cruelly remarked that it looked as if "there may be more business for Messrs R. and T. Willis" (the mad doctors attending George III).

The other habit which unfitted him for sovereignty was his incurable habit of specifying. He was one of those insouciant, noisy characters of whom it can be said there was no occasion, either public or private, in which he was not ready to say a few words, generally ill-chosen, often indelicate and always rambling. Perhaps this idea of idorning an occasion was acquired from his father, though not of course the lewdness. When at last he settled down and married Queen Adelaide it was noticed at once that "the poison manner" had vanished and that he became much better behaved and quieter. But these more decorous habits deserted him if he was roused or confronted by an unexpected situation, most noticeable when he first ascended the throne. This helps to explain why he betrayed great oddity at that time and also explains why Greville, who was sharp-tongued but not a romantic, wrote that the King "was a munterbank bidding fair to become a maniac". He never quite lost the habit of explosive speech even after he had been on the throne for some time; he had been King for several years when he said to the President of the Royal Academy, "You may be damn'd, Sir, and if the Queen was not here I would kick you downstairs."

The curious thing about King William IV—and it is this of course which gives his biography particular interest—is that with conspicuous personal failings he yet made an extraordinarily successful king. In fact the last sovereign of the House of Hanover redeemed the dynasty. He was faced with political difficulties; he was comparable with, but exceeded in gravity, the struggle over the Lord's eight years afterwards. One point which is very rightly emphasized in this book is that the lead-

ing politicians on both sides never withheld their praise from him. Here is Lord Holland, who was among the most partisan of the Whigs, writing at a critical moment of the struggle over the Reform Bill: "I think in my conscience declare that I think the King has acted throughout most fairly and honourably by us." Readers may recollect and set against this a remark of Creevey, "Our beloved Billy cuts a damnable figure"; and much the same was no doubt said by many journalists of similar type at the time. Such remarks are rather to be classed as war-cries not judgments. Lord Holland's verdict would have been endorsed by all who knew the King within the narrow circle of official life. Moreover, the political impartiality of the King was achieved in spite of great domestic tribulations.

Mr Ziegler reveals for us the extent of Queen Adelaide's Toryism. She was educated in the very worst principles of passive obedience and divine right: Mr Ziegler is right to emphasize the persistent drip of her prejudices on the King. "The good-for-nothing husband", though remote from the shores, had the political opinions of hunt-ryans. These somewhat pathetic personages, the King's sisters or the Beguins as they were called, likewise pecked away at the King. As one of them said: "We may think we may think, we do think, but we need not speak."

There can be no doubt that much of the success of the King was due to the patient good sense of his secretary Sir Herbert Taylor. He was one of those royal servants whose instructions to his executors were rigid; the extent of his skill and influence is perished with his papers. We do, however, learn from Brougham, who was not over-generous with praise, that Taylor was "one of the most able as well as the most respectable persons who have ever appeared at the Court of this country". That is correct. But the mutilation of his records means that we are guessing rather than affirming when we say that Taylor, with his master, was the saviour of English constitutional monarchy.

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## Pearls from the pulpit

## Moving beyond the present

Nevertheless, Mr. Wren-Lewis does take religion seriously, and is willing to make almost any connexion that may help us unearth what may be of value in it. Some may read this book because its style and tone feed their own fantasies and outlooks; others may dismiss it because of the predominance of ebullience over argument. Both would be misguided. It conveys, besides particular insights, an overall sense of urgency and excitement about the problems which we need at all costs to preserve.

**GC** **Geoffrey Chapman**  
35 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4SG

(Issued by: Chemical & Allied Products Export Promotion Council, Calcutta, India)

## Style for style's sake

The application of terms derived from the visual arts to poetry is no new thing, and Richard Saxe, for instance, has recently studied the relationship between Ronsard and contemporary art. Where Marcel Rymond breaks new ground is in the selection of a very wide-ranging anthology to illustrate the points made in his long and densely packed introduction. He has taken 150 poems from some fifty poets, arranged them under seven conspicuous headings (*Amour*, accounts for nearly half) and thus demonstrated in the most convincing way the persistence of certain themes and techniques from 1546-1610 (from Sieve to Malherbe). The selection is not intended to be statistically significant, so that ten poets account for half the output, with Ronsard, leading (eleven), followed by Jodelle (eleven), Flémetin (nine), and Pontus de Tyard (eight); but it does show the extent to which certain

As to Professor Raymond  
In the history of mannerism, the  
history of the concept, barely  
applied over the past twenty  
or so to literature, should dis-  
cuss excessive indulgence in what  
is to be a new fashion. In  
he proposes such eristics as  
ness for movement, often  
for decentralized, compar-  
ized composition, for florid  
luxurious features and for  
emphasis on figures and forms  
distortion, together with  
cells rhetorical mannerism,  
paradox, conceals, verbal rep-  
end the like. Perhaps his  
fruitful suggestion is that  
mannerism is a conscious  
tion of the resources of style  
own sake, as a means of creat-  
alternative reality (fiction)  
can equally well aim at being  
or false to everyday reality.

This handsomely produced volume is valuable not so much for offering a new approach to Renaissance poetry (which to some extent it does) as for providing unfamiliar poems in unfamiliar translations.

the other might serve as parody-ides for the two categories. John Warr-Lewis is a fearless example of the second category.

Perhaps it is the most serious, as it is the most obvious, defect of the book that it appears to take little or no account of professional philosophy of religion (at least in the Anglo-Saxon tradition). Students will look in vain for mention of Wittgenstein, Mitchell, Hare, Wisdom, Barnhough, Phillips and others. The work of Flew and MacIntyre is briefly mentioned in the "further reading"; but there is no serious discussion of a philosophically relevant level of the central problems of meaning and sense. Such a defect is a characteristic of our second category: professional philosophy involves some very "tough-minded" thinking and analysis, and failure to acknowledge its relevance as a tool (as alone use it) is predictable.

Much more encouraging—and the book is worth reading for this alone—is the author's willingness to take another "tough-minded" tool of thought, the psychoanalytic approach, somewhat more seriously. In chapter six he raises *real* doubts at least effectively by noting "apparent" honesty:

By interpreting every contribution to (opinion) in terms of its contribution to (reaction) against it, this attitude is



## From Coleridge to Gore

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"Mr. Reardon has a Joad-like brilliance in expounding other people's thinking; he makes his way through the lists of rival or successive theologians—Coleridgean, Tractarian, Broad, liberal, High, Low, immanent, transcendental, Kenian and neo-Hegelian—with a large sympathy and comprehension."

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"He does not confine himself to academic theology, but gives space not only to J. S. Mill and the Utilitarians but also to Tennyson, George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, as well as to the Utilitarian head of the enterprise, the poet Coleridge, and his influence, mainly through Aids to Reflection (1825). Thus we get a more general view of the religious questions of the age than we should if the inquiry had been confined to the work of theologians."

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

"The course of events is so dramatic and confusing, and Mr. Reardon has packed so much information about personalities and issues into his pages, that the result might have been indigestible. But he has handled his mass of material so deftly that a reader follows him, happily held, all the way from Coleridge to Gore."

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"He has not sought, he says, to be original; 'to the sense of providing either fresh facts or unusual judgements'. The result is a very accurate and honest account of what most of the major British 19th century theologians said."

ANNOTATED BOOKLIST

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Longman

## Royal David's cities

KATHREEN KENYON:  
Royal Cities of the Old Testament  
Dapp, Harrie and Jenkins, £4.

It is an ironic fact that the Davidic monarchy and the city of David, which came to play so important a part in Jewish and Christian religious tradition, were both originally alien to the life of early Israel. Military and administrative necessity led to the establishment of the monarchy, and after Saul's death to its renewal under David; but, because it seemed to be at variance with the authentic Israelite tradition, it was subjected to some conservative circles to scathing criticism as well as being in court circles the theme of sustained theological propaganda. Urban life as such presented a sharp challenge to a religious tradition which had its origins in semi-nomadic conditions and on which the transition to agricultural life imposed a severe test. In the Royal Cities architectural expression was given to the impact which monarchy had on the structure of Israelite society and to the foreign influences which many of the kings encouraged.

Some of the most illuminating archaeological work in the Holy Land in recent years has been carried on at the sites of Royal Cities. Kathleen Kenyon skillfully presents the results in such a way as to give a comprehensive account of the origin and development of these cities against the background of social, political, and cultural development and the varying military and political fortunes of the Israelite kingdoms.

David shrewdly chose as his capital Jerusalem, a city which had no connexion with any Israelite tribe. Similarly, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, which are linked with Jerusalem in the account of Solomon's building operations, and may therefore be classed as Royal Cities, had no previous association with either northern or southern tribes. Megiddo and Hazor had remained unoccupied after being destroyed in the thirteenth century; Gezer was a Canaanite city captured by a Pharaoh and given as a dowry for his daughter who became Solomon's principal wife.

Dr Kenyon's description of Jerusalem includes a survey of the main results of her own excavations during the seven seasons, 1961-67. Her arguments and diagrams show clearly the line which must have been followed by the east wall of the Jebusite and Davidic city and by its continuation to the north-east and north. Direct archaeological evidence for the pattern of Solomon's Jerusalem does not amount to very much. The

buildings on the eastern slope collapsed; the area on the crest of Ophel was used as a quarry in the Roman period; and Herod's Temple and its spacious platform were superimposed on the original site of Solomon's Temple and Palace. It seems probable that here Dr Kenyon is able to state the evidence more fully than was possible in her earlier work, *Jerusalem*, that a narrow extension along the crest of the ridge linked the Temple area with the older city. Solomon's Jerusalem was thus dominated by an enclosure in which, as the literary evidence in the Old Testament attests, the structure, decoration, and furniture of the buildings were the products of Syrian, Phoenician art and craftsmanship.

As in Jerusalem, so in other Royal Cities, there is a marked contrast between the impressive structures executed in foreign styles by foreign architects and craftsmen and the indigenous Palestinian architecture exemplified in the homes of ordinary people, a contrast which is paralleled in the separation between Royal Cities or royal enclosures within cities and the ordinary residential areas. Indeed, the Samaria which Ahab and Omri created, and perhaps also Megiddo, may have been exclusively Royal Cities with no lower town.

After the division of the land into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, it was in the wealthier and more influential Northern Kingdom that the development of Royal Cities continued. Dr Kenyon describes vividly the evidence for the transfer of Omri's capital and its population from Tirzah to Samaria to Royal City created ex nihilo where a magnificent site of strategic importance was crowned with stately buildings richly adorned with the products of Syro-Phoenician craftsmanship.

Here, then, is a fascinating survey which gives the non-specialist reader sufficient information about archaeological evidence to enable him to understand the conclusions drawn. There are few minor slips and mistakes. There were ten tables, not five, on the east side of the Temple. The number of the prophets of Baal is given as 844, whereas the text of Kings xviii 19, assigns 450 to Baal and 400 to Asherah. The unwary reader may be confused by the fact that Job's Well appears on page 23 as "Bir 'Ayub" (the 'ayin is a slip) and on page 137 as "Bir 'Eyub", and by references in both the text and index to the same Assyrian king as Sargon II and Sargon III. But these are niggling criticisms of a masterly presentation.

## Instructive icons

M. D. ANDERSON:  
History and Imagery in British Churches  
291pp. John Murray, £4.25.

The parish and cathedral churches of Great Britain are among the most important historical documents in the land, and there are some 10,000 of them built in whole or part before the close of the Middle Ages. The tombs, mural tablets and armorial glass tell of the great and famous, the misdeeds and gargoyles of the social life of ordinary folk, the mural paintings and ornaments of their spiritual hopes and fears. When, on the accession of Queen Victoria, the Court wished to know how the Garter should be worn by a lady, it was at the tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme that the evidence was found. The whole of a medieval church was a picture book for the instruction of the faithful.

In a less religious age this book has to be interpreted, and in two previous works, Miss M. D. Anderson (Mrs Trenchard Cox) has shown herself to be an erudite and sympathetic interpreter. These have been out of print for some time, and many readers will be grateful for their substantial incorporation in *History and*

Imagery in British Churches: additional material and a rearrangement of the old material justifies the new title, for it is effectively a new book.

The first and third parts constitute a re-arrangement of the earlier book, *Looking for History in British Churches*. The first part, "The Growth of the Churches", deals with some of the political and social forces that influenced church building up to the twelfth century, and traces survivals of pre-Christian beliefs and customs. The third part, "The Record of Social History", considers the marks left upon later churches by great nobles, merchants, pilgrims and other classes, and the daily life of common people as portrayed by church artists. The second part is a simplified version of *The Imagery of British Churches* with the addition of interesting new material about the influence of vernacular sermons and religious drama.

From the scourging of Henry II on a doleful boss at Norwich to the domestic brawl on a misericord at Bristol, from the Doom at Chaldon to the preaching box at East Brent, the illustrations provide ample material for all tastes. Though the book is concerned mainly with the Middle Ages, Miss Anderson notices many later features up to the eighteenth century.

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## More than a martyr

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER:  
Letters and Papers from Prison  
Edited by Eberhard Bethge  
437pp. SCM Press, £1.50.

SABINE LEIBHOLZ-BONHOEFFER:  
The Bonhoeffers  
203pp. Sidgwick and Jackson, £1.

It is nearly twenty years since *Letters and Papers from Prison* appeared in its first English edition. This enlarged edition contains material never before available in English and which has only recently been released in Germany. As Eberhard Bethge points out in his preface to the new edition, his problem in producing the original edition was that of selection. His intention was "to make available to a group of people who were interested in Bonhoeffer's thought, specifically theological, meditations from Tegel". He had to guard against the misunderstanding that this was a tractate or monograph by Bonhoeffer on a chosen theme and not authentic correspondence, and he was also "extremely cautious about including passages about personal relationships or relationships within the family and about deciphering any such references". This in the original edition there was hardly any reference to Bonhoeffer's fiancée.

By contrast, this new edition contains an appendix in which she herself, most movingly, tells the tragic story of the engagement in simple but heroic language and gives some quotations from the unpublished letters written to her. There is also much other new material. Those of Bonhoeffer's letters that were originally abbreviated are now presented in full, and for the first time letters written to him by his family and by Professor Bethge have been published. Some of Bonhoeffer's occasional writings produced in prison are also included.

## Reports from the boundary

PAUL TILICH:  
Begegnungen  
407pp. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, DM 31.50.

Paul Tillich, a refugee from Nazi Germany, was so eagerly and quickly adopted by his American theological and philosophical colleagues that he has tended to be viewed more as an American theologian than a German. The appearance of his complete works in German, of which the first 12 volumes have already appeared and the two supplementary volumes are due to be published in 1972 and 1973, will serve to remind us not only of the German roots of Tillich's theology but also of his contribution to Germany's theology in our time and to Germany's social and political struggle.

Tillich makes it quite clear that he regarded himself as a German: "My attachment to my native land in terms of landscape, language, tradition and mutual history of destiny has always been so instinctive that I could never understand why it should have to be made an object of special attention." "I have always felt myself thoroughly German by nature that I could not dwell on the fact at length."

Himself a victim of Nazi persecution he was able to work for the welfare of refugees in the United States during the war years, and in that period and after was able to interpret America to Germany and vice versa.

The sub-title of this volume, "Paul Tillich über sich selbst und andere", makes it clear that this is a collection of papers of either an autobiographical or biographical nature. They are best read alongside the pieces that Tillich wrote about the Germany of the middle 1930s onwards. The story of his relation to German socialism is perhaps one of the most important aspects of his thought epitomized in the predicament

of the politically conscious German academic in the early 1930s.

Though Tillich never himself engaged in political action he was a convinced socialist. As he puts it: "Since making my first political decision a few years before the First World War, I have stood with the political left." Much of his writings in those first years in America was taken up with the theme of Germany. The present book is divided into three parts: autobiographical, the German period (1886-1933), and the American period (1933-1965). The title, "Begegnungen" is to be understood not only in the sense of personal contact but also as indicating his involvement with intellectual and spiritual movements.

For the English reader familiar with Tillich's work there is probably very little here that is new. The first and last sections of the book are indeed translations into German of material originally written in English (with the single exception of the article "Kairos, Theonomy and the Demonic", which was his contribution to the *Helmut Festschrift*). The two autobiographical sketches "On the Boundary" (which appeared in 1966 as a separate book) and "Autobiographical Reflections" (from *The Theology of Paul Tillich*) make up the first section, while the last section comprises articles published in the United States on Marx, Nietzsche, Berdyaev, Buber and Jung. None of the material in the second section has yet been translated into English.

Tillich wrote four autobiographical sketches in all, and each of them illuminates his theological quest and his theological position. He recognized it as his peculiar contribution that he worked up all times "on the boundary", and it must be said that the boundaries straddled were many. One of these boundaries was that between the professional theologian and the layman. His was so immensely learned and so naturally metaphysical a mind that his writing must strike most readers as forbidding in the extreme. He was aware

of the first time the heroic pathos of the correspondence between Bonhoeffer and his parents. The stark tale of the tragedies that overtook the family from 1943 to 1945 is indeed moving, as is Karl Friedrich Bonhoeffer's reminiscence in June, 1945, of "the ruins from which no news comes to us" which is printed in *Letters and Papers*.

Does *Letters and Papers* then simply deepen our appreciation of the martyr? On the contrary, the expansion of Bonhoeffer's letters and the supplementing of these by letters to him from Professor Bethge enable us to take a fresh look at Bonhoeffer's thought. It is a concrete theology, completely integrated with his heroism because of the living faith that inspired both; and this concreteness is the clue to the understanding of that ever-quoted remark about religionless Christianity. The greatness of this theology is the perception that theology has its beginning and its end in life; and as we are relentlessly carried forward to a new era of cynicism in politics it is good to see this Lutheran expression of St Thomas's dictum that theology transcends the distinction between the theoretical and the practical.

This is what makes Bonhoeffer's comments on freedom, success and the possibility of speaking lies to the glory of God really profound theology. On a more theoretical level there is much to ponder in Bonhoeffer's strictures on a theology that attempts to secure a place for God as the answer to ultimate questions—the last gap that remains in our knowledge. His assertion that in Christ there are no Christian problems is difficult to understand; but it does make clear how complex are the relations between theology and metaphysics and how futile are the attempts to produce theology as a rabbit from the metaphysical conjurer's hat.

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## More to it than dogma

JOACHIM KAHN:

The Misery of Christianity

A Plan for a Humanity without God  
Translated by N. D. Smith  
212pp. Penguin. Paperback, 35p.

At first sight this looks like yet another attack on religion by an atheist, but because Joachim Kahn was himself trained in theology the arguments are rather distinctive and the criticisms very sharp. The criticisms cover three areas.

The first is the "misery of Christianity" reflected in the misery and suffering it has inflicted over the centuries. Dr Kahn begins with slavery. Not just that the Church failed to condemn it. The Church actually owned slaves and then sent into the late Middle Ages. Dr Kahn then deals with the various groups persecuted by the Church. When Christianity ceased to be an illegal religion, and became instead the official religion of the Roman Empire, in the fourth century, Christians immediately turned to persecuting and robbing non-adherents of non-Christian religions. The crusading spirit, which offered the infidels baptism or the sword, was continued with the invasions of the New World, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, and in our own times is seen in the holy war against communism. Jews were persecuted in the early Church, and in Christianity there were laws proscribing distinctive dress and proscribing from office long before Christians operated the Aryan laws of Hitler's Germany. A third group persecuted by the Church comprised those who did not believe what the hierarchy believed, that is, heretics.

This persecution came to its peak in the activities of the Inquisition under which hundreds of thousands of people were tortured, maimed and barbarously murdered. The Reformers were not themselves immune to coercion. The final group Dr Kahn discusses is women, and the way in which the Christian view of sexuality led to their further defilement. The most terrible instance here is the persecution of witches, which together with the persecution of other normal and innocent people

led the church historian Walter Nigg to say:

The flames were rising everywhere and it seemed as though they would never be put out. Everyone was being burnt—men and women, Catholics and Protestants, infants and scholars, four-year-old children and eighty-year-old women.

Humanity's time in its own way simply reinforces the traditional view of women.

The record is bad, and others have shown that it is in some respects even worse than Dr Kahn indicates. Yet the distinctive point that he makes is that the liberal Christian response, that the Church had fallen far short of Christian standards is quite out of place. Slavery was ordained by God in the Old Testament, and Paul in the New Testament could command slaves to be obedient. The goddess in both Old and New Testaments were to be punished by God without mercy. There are grounds for anti-Semitism in Paul and even in the Gospels. Women, from the creation narratives, are seen in the Bible as not only inferior to men, but are associated with evil and weakness. Dr Kahn's point is simply that the record of the Church is the outworking of the biblical religion:

All the crimes that have been committed by Christians throughout the history of their religion are to be found in current in the New Testament, so that it would be more correct to speak of an escalation than of a decline.

The other two areas with which Dr Kahn deals can be mentioned more briefly. There is the question of the historical basis of the Christian religion. Not the opponents but the supporters of Christianity in this case the form critics admit that there is not an incident or a saying of the gospels which can be vouched for absolutely in its given form. This indicates that the question lessening posed two centuries ago is no nearer to an answer. How can the certainty required for faith be related to the mere probabilities of historical research? One takes it that Dr Kahn also has in mind that such historical uncertainties hardly provide the grounds for the kind of absolute dogmatic certainty implied in the various forms of persecution.

Dogmatism itself is the final area

covered. Most forms of it have been openly dogmatic and refused to be open to discussion. Even what is called "dialectical" even in modern "dialectical" family" (Lactantius) by Barthmann, Dr Kahn finds the dogmatism at its deepest level now the Kerygma, that addresses the hearer, which is questioned. "Theology is still in the case of Barthmann, pure rationalism." Radical theology retains the dogmatic assumption of modern atheism is in the ground of God is "pure dreaming" hermeneutical "fables".

The distinctive feature of Dr Kahn's criticism is that he does his own training in theology, and does Christianity with him. It is difficult to meet the challenge, it may be that Dr Kahn's style, also his weakness. He has a simply accepted the dogmatic, what Christianity is about. He advocates a "pantheistic" and a sociological approach might not be a phenomenon, but more appropriate, has not in fact applied this method. The phenomenon of Christianity would mean asking what it is. Biblical religion was about, the experiences of life had it, not withstanding the terminology, conceptual structure employed in communicating it. This is particularly relevant to the intention of the book and its concluding section.

Dr Kahn claims that the book intended to influence the system of the non-Christian way, and section, "Post-Christian Religion", promises to give us a glimpse of what a really free society might look like. The book gives us not a glimpse, even a suspicion that Dr Kahn's where to turn to find the crisis such a society or the means by which it might be brought into existence. One suspects that if he had the phenomenological (non-dogmatic) approach to Christianity he would have found in this tradition resources for diagnosing the society and some indications of the alternative might be.

All dogmatic forms of Christianity must face the real challenge that Kahn presents, but he has not the outside Germany to inquire whether a truly non-dogmatic form is developed. If it is, then Dr Kahn yet to face its challenge.

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## Jesus yes, God no

ALISTAIR KEE:

The Way of Transcendence

Christian Faith without Belief in God  
214pp. Penguin. Paperback, 35p.

Alistair Kee's purpose is to show that Christian faith is a live option for people who cannot believe in God—in short, for atheists, of whom he would appear to be one. Christian faith for atheists is a "secular faith" in the way of transcendence: secular, because it involves no belief in the supernatural; faith, because it calls for decision and commitment; and Christian, because it is faith that Jesus Christ is the norm of what is entailed in the way of transcendence.

"Transcendence" here refers to a way of life exemplified by Jesus Christ and contrasted with an immanent or natural way (identified partly with go-getting materialism and the exertion of power for selfish ends, partly with sheer self-indulgence). Dr Kee sets out to convince that Christian faith in his chosen sense can not only survive the collapse of religion and of theism but can actually thrive upon their demise.

In his analysis and critique of other men's ideas Dr Kee is always interesting and sometimes devastating. He argues against Schleiermacher and J. A. T. Robinson that theism is not "really" something else; it is, he says, a perfectly defensible posture. The other are the various attempts, including process theology and John Macquarrie's onto-theology, to redefine God. Dr Kee insists that all these attempts, though they may avoid reductionism, are not alternative ways of conceiving and speaking of God which are logically coherent or intelligible. But the modern unbeliever is not hunting for a more viable conception. He simply does not live in a world where God is experientially present. "There is an absence of any experience which could be interpreted as experience of God." A God-interpretation of human experience is therefore irrelevant, as conventional, as new concepts or definitions of Godhead.

Perhaps it is the "Death of God" theologians who can speak to the condition of modern secular man. Dr Kee wants to see how they meet his criteria for what is necessary to an adequate secular theology: namely, one that will preserve a positive, un-reduced content for "secular" and "theology". Such a theology must be radical—that is, it must conserve nothing of the supernatural, of the old-style personal-God belief of traditional theism; yet at the same time it must eschew positivism and reductionism in any form, because those positions remove the ground of reality from the way of transcendence. The "Death of God" theologians fall short of the first requirement: they are not radically a-theistic. This is Dr Kee's conclusion from examining each of them in turn—Thomas

Altizer, William Hamilton and the rest with fairness and acumen. There follows a brilliant discussion of Nietzsche, and in particular of Nietzsche's interpretation of the death of God. Nietzsche rightly diagnosed the new historic situation in which man lives without God; but he also opted for the natural man, the way of immanence, "rejecting Christ and the way of Christ". Ultimately, therefore, he is the apostle of destruction.

In the second part Dr Kee turns his attention to reductionist solutions to the problem of belief in God, dealing specifically with Feuerbach, Richard Braithwaite and Paul Van Buren. Feuerbach failed to demonstrate that talk about God is really only talk about man. He can assign no definitive place to Christ. Professor Braithwaite arbitrarily selects stories with a plain moral intention, but fails to distinguish between "entertaining" a story and "believing" it on moral grounds not contained within the story itself. Mr Van Buren cannot discover a contemporary and viable alternative way of speaking of God. His trick is to ignore this whole dimension, instead of trying to translate it.

In the final section Dr Kee proposes his own solution. It is "a solution by escalation rather than by reduction". What he means by this is obscure. In his discussion of Tillich earlier on Dr Kee adopts his key phrase "ultimate concern". Thus Christian theology is "systematic reflection on what is called in commitment, with ultimate concern, to that which came to expression in Jesus Christ... The meaning of the word God then becomes the content of our ultimate concern." Escalation means then that something more is involved here than an ultimate concern with man; and the something more, entailing both risk and commitment, is the mystery at the heart of a reality which invites faith in transcendence and then confirms that faith—"a mystery beyond our ultimate concerns, beyond precisely because it is raised by our having an ultimate concern".

All this sounds unimpeachably abstract; but to fact Dr Kee has several concrete and practical purposes in view. By showing that belief in God is not necessary to Christian faith (i.e., to commitment to what comes to expression in Jesus Christ), he hopes to enlarge the blessed company of faithful people, the community of those religious and irreligious, who embody Jesus Christ through living out his way of transcendence. Membership of that community will not call for belief in God as a prior condition of Christian commitment. It will embrace theists and atheists on an equal footing.

Has he made a case that is at least intelligible and self-consistent? Not altogether. First because there is an incoherent circularity in the argument:

The main danger to the conclusion to which we have come (regarding the mystery of having an ultimate concern) is... that an attempt will be made to use it as a way of reintroducing God again, further in the ontological ladder. What is the mystery of transcendence? I fear the temptation is to say that the answer is once again God.

One notes the affective vocabulary—fear, temptation. Is the affirmation of God then really such a great obligation? But says Dr Kee, this inference about God would bring us back to square one, or to page one of a rather long book. It is a possibility, precisely this conclusion would leave the religious Christians in their ghetto and the atheist Christians out in the cold.

Arguably, there are two main areas of confusion recurrent throughout the book. The first might be called sociological, although like the second it is in part a problem of definition. Dr Kee says in his preface that ours is an age without supportable religious beliefs: "In particular, belief in God has disappeared... If belief in God is the prior condition of Christianity, then Christianity will not be possible in our secular age." And much later in the book: "The new interest in religion is not a revival in theistic belief. It can be of no comfort to traditional Christians." These and similar assertions may or may not be true; but they are certainly bald and constitute a sociological dogma proffered without argument, evidence or supporting documentation. One wonders what methodological procedure could establish that "belief in God has disappeared". According to recent polls and questionnaires the vast majority of people do not claim to be atheists or to have abandoned belief in God. Quite the contrary. One would think there is little or no positive evidence, there-

fore, for Dr Kee's view that belief in God is the scandalous barrier men and women in their thousands from a secular faith in Jesus Christ and from his way of transcendence.

The second area of confusion is terminological and relates directly to Dr Kee's attempts to speak of the way of transcendence and its Christian character, that is, its intrinsic relation to Christ:

Christians... are distinguished by the fact that they claim that Jesus Christ is the very embodiment and final revelation of the way of transcendence... I see no objection to having faith in Jesus Christ as the definitive revelation of the way, the truth and the life for men, without belief in God.

This cannot be careless talk. It is carefully chosen and recurs over and over again; yet how can language that reverberates with such theological and personalist overtones be used in such a context without explanation or apology? It sounds all the more strangely on the lips of one who takes Professor Macquarrie, for example, to task for a tendency to use terminology which predisposes us to accept a religious view of reality. When we read that "Jesus Christ is the incarnation of transcendence" we are bound to ask Dr Kee what is the ground of the uniqueness he ascribes to Jesus as the embodiment of the way; why by cannot speak of discovery or invention instead of revelation, where the latter term so clearly implies initiative on the part of an extramundane agent.

Since this book as a piece of systematic argumentation is not wholly coherent, there are at least two directions in which its author may decide to move. He could revise his basic terms and so make his original thesis about secular faith in Christ more intelligible; or he might explore the incipient circularity in his argument back towards theism. Either way, he has further to go.

## Back to the Buddha

Dr. SADDHATISSA:

The Buddha's Way

139pp. Allen and Unwin. £2.75  
(paperback, £1.50).

This is a short introduction to Buddhism "short" of accretions which tend to obscure the real meaning of the Buddha. It is aimed principally at the Western student who knows virtually nothing of Buddhism but wants to know what it is all about without being overwhelmed with technicalities. As such it is eminently successful. The essential doctrines are there, the Buddha's life, the Four Noble Truths together with lucid notes on *dukkha*, *poṭṭhapanupada*, *nānā* and *kamma-vipāka*. There is

a third part on meditation which is, of course, central in Buddhism, and finally a short selection of texts (sometimes repetitive).

The book is well written and so far as it goes authoritative for the Theravada school with which it is alone concerned. It is also intended as a practical guide to Buddhist ethics and the section on the Eightfold Path is particularly good. Two minor criticisms: it scarcely makes sense to claim that there are all 300 million Buddhists in China, and why must modern Buddhists always drag in modern chemistry and physics only to claim that the Buddha had "renounced" it all long ago? So had Heraclitus and many others.

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## Work in progress

WILLIAM R. RUTLAND:

The Becoming of God

122pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £1.75.

*The Becoming of God* is what the author styles "an outline chapter" in the history of the idea "that the meaning and nature of the Universe now appear to the human intelligence as a Process". It is not a philosophical or theological essay but an analysis, by a man of letters and a former teacher of modern languages at Marlborough, of the development from Spinoza to the present day of what we should call an evolutionary view of the world.

The opening chapter gives special attention to Goethe and Wordsworth, as two poets (and "romantic") representatives of a processive view of nature and man's organic place in it. The second chapter is devoted to Tennyson and his gradual acceptance of the same position, but with the benefit of awareness of nineteenth-century scientific and philosophical inquiry. Then comes a chapter on "the religions of humanity" in which we start from Comte (who devised the phrase) and then proceed, rather surprisingly, to J. A. T. Robinson, Julian Huxley, and others. A final long chapter is given to Teilhard de Chardin, who is criticized for an illicit intrusion of specifically christological concerns into a predominantly scientific-metaphysical presentation of "the phenomenon of man". In an epilogue Dr Rutland professes his own Christian faith, his acceptance of a process conception of the world, man, and God, and

pays tribute to (but is critical of) Bergson's way of stating the position.

Dr Rutland believes, and rightly, that a profound change has taken place in our concept of "natural" and "supernatural". This, he says, is associated with a general acceptance of the fact that "not only human life, but also everything that surrounds us on this planet, and indeed the whole Universe of which our planet is a part, is subject to mutation". Hence some at least have come to what he styles the "intuition" that in such process there is "to be found an indication of the nature of the ultimate Reality of which the universe is a manifestation". Thus he agrees with Alexander, Lloyd-Morgan, Smuts, Bergson, Teilhard, and Whitehead, in finding "the idea of cosmic process" the best clue to the structure and dynamic of things.

In a preface, the Bishop of Salisbury notes that another former teacher at Marlborough, Peter Hamilton, has recently written a more philosophical and theological study along similar lines (*The Living God and the Modern World*, 1967). Mr Hamilton is more logical, lucid, and theologically learned—and does not fall into such misunderstandings of J. A. T. Robinson and others—"radical theologians" as that found in Dr Rutland's second chapter. But Dr Rutland's second chapter, "The Living God and the Modern World", is correct in seeing that much contemporary "radical theology" does not take into account, as any sound theology should do, the natural world, physical process, and the total cosmic setting for human history and experience.

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## The Queen's first subjects

EDWARD CARPENTER:

Continued

The Archbishop in their Office  
562pp. Cassell. £4.20.

JOHN W. LAMM:

The Archbishop of Canterbury  
From its foundation to the Norman  
Conquest  
287pp. Faith Press. £3.

The office of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "the Queen's first subject", is unique and it was a good idea of Edward Carpenter to write its history. The problem was obviously how to avoid making it merely a potted history of the Church of England and, perhaps inevitably, the early centuries are treated in a sketchy and sometimes a perfunctory way. The book becomes much richer and more closely textured as it approaches modern times, especially from 1662 onwards, and the last chapters are the best. The style is easy, the proportions good, and the judgments charitable without being falsely pious. As an essay in fulfilling a difficult task, the book is a modest success.

If it is not more than that, and if the reader is left with little sense of excitement or fresh insight, the reason probably lies as much in the subject-matter as in the treatment. Dr Carpenter quotes a surprised and bewildered comment by Archbishop Davidson on discovering how popular he was: "If I were describing myself, I should say that I was a funny old fellow of quite mediocre, second-rate gifts and a certain amount of common-sense—but that I have tried to do my best." With only a few exceptions, in each half of that sentence, this could be true of all Archbishops of modern times. That they should be men of this type no doubt accounts for the impressive continuity of the office in English life, where men who seem greater

than their office render their neighbours uneasy, but their story does not make for dramatic reading. A mediocre lot indeed, whose public actions were predictable, rarely generous and hardly ever adventurous: this is the impression left by the majority, with a slightly more stringent verdict called for on those of the eighteenth century, except for Archbishop Wake.

What emerges from this history is something very different from the popular impression about the state of the Church of England today, and that is the extent of the Anglican revival over the past 150 years. The nineteenth-century Archbishops were more considerable, and more distinctively Christian, men than those of the eighteenth—and those of the twentieth, in immeasurably more complicated circumstances, appear to be at least the equals of their immediate predecessors. It is a favourite English legend that, whereas in the past bishops were appointed for their scholarship and personal independence, now they are appointed because they are safe organization men. So far as Archbishops of Canterbury are concerned, history offers little to support this. Most of them always have been safe organization men, and the record is rather better in this century than in many previous ones.

This is not to deny that, for most of this century also, the Archbishops have remained men of deeply conservative temper. It is curious that the most conservative among them have been the Scotsmen, who, literally and metaphorically, have been royalist than the king. Archbishop Lang, Dr Carpenter tells us, once organized a luncheon party exclusively for disorganised duchesses. In an age when the reputation of an institution is unduly dependent on the character of its leading representatives, this has done much to confirm the impression that the Church of England is a conventional and timid

organization, an impression lightened work in other parts of the Church does little to modify.

All the same, conservative bishops may have remained, but they seem to have been more able, efficient and accessible than their predecessors. In their stand in contrast, at least very recently, to the Pope, patriarchs who are their most vicious counterparts elsewhere in private state and their priorities and their style are to be much more Christian.

Canon Lamm's book fills out a great deal of detail, the history of the early period which Dr Carpenter was able to treat only very briefly. The author is a parish priest from north of England and his book is a foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is a concise volume to earlier books by C. Lamb on the Archbishopric of York and on the Archbishopric of Lichfield, which are briefly at the end of the book. This new volume is thorough and well documented.

In his last paragraph, Dr Carpenter raises but does not answer a question concerning the future of this ancient office. His answer is understandable. We hear a deal today of secularization and diminished influence of the Church. These are facts but this book reminds us that not dissimilar have been known before. Despite all the changes of our own time, the Archbishop of Canterbury still at Lambeth and he is still the first subject. In the Anglican communion also, he presides over a larger practising Christian community than any of his predecessors in earlier centuries knew. It may be a hold man who would either to affirm or to deny the situation will be substantially different 100 years hence.

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## Beyond stability

JOHN A. T. ROBINSON:

The Difference in Being a Christian Today

422pp. Collins Fontana. Paperback, 25p.

If being a Christian is not just one cultural pursuit among others, then what difference does it make to be a Christian? John Robinson, in these lectures first given in Cambridge and then in expanded form in Buenos Aires, attempts to deal with this question in the light of what Donald Schön describes as "the loss of the stable state". That familiar institutions, ideas, standards and relationships are now being overturned or radically transformed has a particular bearing on the Church, especially wherever authenticity is defined in the terms used by Vincent of Lérins—"what has been believed everywhere, always and by everyone". Such an institution, says Dr Robinson, has "a vested interest in stability". But if the Church has so far depended on Dr Schön's "centre-periphery model", what would happen if Christians, with a venturing faith, welcomed and explored the Way, the Truth and the Life in the perspective opened up by the loss of the stable state?

It is often assumed that the Christian Way can be delineated by a precise list of things to do and things not to do. For Dr Robinson this Way is more of a pilgrimage. W. H. Auden's wise men explain why they came to Bethlehem: "To discover how to be human now/Is the reason we follow the star." The Way, after the end of the stable state, is a seeking out what it means to be truly human, when, contrary to all appearances, reality is trifling at heart—that is, gracious, loving and conducive to "holy community".

As today Truth is not something already known and rigidly defined, Dr Robinson adopts an anthropological, exploratory approach. The truth is approached, he says, as we take seriously certain clues in our experience. In this we use the same method as the biblical writers, who built up from diverse experiences "a kind of human identikit of God, a Christ-figure". For them, the mystery of life and indeed of the world, was solved when they were confronted by Jesus. Dr Robinson seems to be suggesting that every age must now begin from its own experience and that we cannot simply take over the dogmatic forms of a previous orthodoxy.

If the Church has "a vested interest in stability" it is on the assumption that the life of the institution is of prime importance in maintaining orthodoxy and discipline. But after Einstein, and with the loss of the stable state, such absolutes have lost credibility. Yet this, Dr Robinson argues, may well open the way to a new life for the institution: "I believe the Church is being freed to exist for others in a new way—like the Good Shepherd to lay down its life for the world." For the Kingdom of God is not about conserving and guarding, defining and calculating, but about giving up security, going out to answer a call and finally about dying—and then rising. Far from being a threat to being a Christian today, this shaking of the foundations is a sign of great hope:

And I for one—for all my rootage in the past, for which I am continually grateful—do not bewail the end of the stable state. Many things must be shaken in our day if the Kingdom which cannot be shaken is to be discerned and exposed.

Notwithstanding, Dr Robinson's persuasiveness about what must be shaken, there are few signs as yet that anything in the Church will be shaken. The English have a rare capacity for meeting threats of uncertainty by the creation of yet further stable states.

ANTHONY BLOOM:

God and Man

125pp. Darton Longman and Todd. £1.50.

If St Paul were now to return to Europe and passed by an altar "To the Unknown God", he might well say (writes Archbishop Bloom), "I know his name, his name is Man; and at this point he would probably meet not only those who are believers but also those whom we call unbelievers."

What would these two groups have to say to one another—archbishops, for example, and atheists? That question is met in the origin of this book. It has grown out of the television debate, here reproduced, with Margherita Laski, in which both parties appeared at their best, in humility, candour, and mutual understanding. The Archbishop is certain that "God is happier about truth or unbelief than falsified belief". The atheist ends on a rather wishful note:

We [atheists] must depend very deeply on religions, which have a great many things that we cannot have—ritual, festival, words beyond any words that we have managed to maintain. I sometimes think we could have more help.

In the rest of the book, which is composed of papers and addresses written for various different occasions, the Archbishop seeks to show how belief can be rationally justified and how it brings a pattern of meaning and grandeur into the totality of our experience. He speaks with authority and confidence that some of our nerve-racked avant-garde might envy, and—as someone said about Karl Barth—he recalls us to the great peaks which we had half forgotten while groping around in the theological foothills. But it must be remembered that his thought and teaching were moulded by the Eastern tradition, with the Greek theologians behind it. Some of his most characteristic emphases are indeed recognizably Greek in inspiration, rather than Latin and Western.

"Man", writes Archbishop Bloom, "becomes fully human when he is united with God, infinitely, deeply, inseparably, so that the fullness of Godhead abides in the flesh." There are audible echoes of Cheltenham here, and the Archbishop takes over the theory of "deification" so familiar yet so strange to students of the early Christian life only, but also flesh and matter. "All the matter of this world has been shown to be capable of such vastness, such depth and greatness as to be united with the Godhead without ceasing to be itself, but... becoming itself in the true sense of that word." Thus the scientist and the theologian, if true to their vocations, are high priests.

The conclusion is best stated in his own words. God is both transcendent and in our humanity:

He is as great as man is and we are as great as he is. He belongs to our becoming and our tragedy, totally, and we belong to the fullness of his ability and glory. . . . If we think in this context about man and history and individual persons, about matter and science and technology, about human soul and human art then we have a vision of the cosmos and of the God who is within it and beyond it, that can inspire us to be creative, as creative as God, and at the same time to worship him in amazement because we have been given the incredible freedom to be ourselves.

The last chapter is called "Holiness and Prayer". We cannot be holy by trying to escape from the realities of the actual world and seeking a false "sanctuary" in worship. We are to sanctify the world through God's presence. But to do that we must be inwardly disengaged from it. This leads on to the prayer of contemplation and offers a much-needed corrective to our too often shallow Western activism.

God and Man is a profound and nourishing book. It needs to be read slowly and meditatively, for not everything is apparent on the surface.

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New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Of all the books of the Bible, the Book of the Revelation of St John the Divine would seem to be the most difficult to illustrate. One extraordinary scene after the other crowds the pages with fantastic incidents. In spite of all this, throughout the Middle Ages manuscripts were produced with complete sets of pictures. The century between 1240 and 1340 saw the appearance of many examples. It is difficult to account for the multiplication of these copies, though it may be due to the general spiritual malaise of the period.

Recently the Clusters, the Medieval Department of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has acquired an early fourteenth-century copy which can be identified with number 15 in the list of manuscript Apocrypha in M. R. James's *The Apocrypha in Art* (1931). James thought that it might be English in origin, but the editors assign it to Normandy, basing their views upon the style fortified by some heraldic evidence. It is worth recalling that a closely related manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MS 17333) comes from a Norman Charterhouse.

In much of its iconography the pictures follow such English books as the Lambeth Apocryphal. There are, however, two unusual features. The first is that before the text a series of miniatures of the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Flight into Egypt have been included; the

second is a picture of the original owners, a man and a woman, which is found at the end. Among the most admirable sections of the introduction is that which deals with the heraldry, where H. Nickel shows almost certainly a member of the Norman family of de Montigny but that the book migrated at an early date to Switzerland, where its paintings may have influenced the painters of the famous Manesse Codex in Heidelberg.

The facsimile is in two volumes: the facsimile itself which is in full colour and very good, and a second volume of introduction in which a text and commentary are also given. There is a gap in the Clusters manuscript, from xvi 14 to xv 3. This has been supplied from a related book in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Latin 14410).

# Fine first version

The Rubinynt of Omar Khayyam  
Translated by Edward FitzGerald.  
Unnumbered pages. Leicester: Black Knight Private Press. Special Edition £18. Ordinary Edition £6.

This unusually handsome edition of the first version of FitzGerald's translation is handprinted by Duane Campbell on an Adana Flatbed on grey paper in Bembo types and has twelve coloured illustrations and three initials by the late Steven Morris. There is also a curiously idiosyncratic but intelligent short introduction by someone who wishes, rather oddly, to remain anonymous; and there are, most unfortunately, four misreadings in the text.

The differences between the special and the ordinary editions are that the first is printed on Barcham

Green's *Charles I* handmade and signed by the printer; the illustrations are more elaborately illustrated; and its binding is in a unique Glastonbury antique binding, unsigned, and is bound in green buckram. The hand-tooled cover is Alun Constance's.

Both editions are impressive of craftsmanship, the special being indeed as sumptuous as would expect for the price. The morocco binding is particularly good. This is the fifth book brought out by this press—a mixture of nostalgia and pride—and one hopes that the press's attempt to produce distinguished hand-printed books of this kind will meet all the success it merits.

# Books received

Anthology  
Dinner, S. *The Smell of Sunday*. 128pp. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham. £1.50.

This is a collection of about thirty newspaper articles and the like, most of which were written in the past twelve years, though one dates from 1960. The title, with its intriguing mixture of nostalgia and pride, is not quite typical of the book as a whole. For Sid Chaplin is unapologetic as often as he is apologetic, and though he is always concerned with his "pretty large silkworm" of County Durham and, yes, he is writing, as he says, to please and perhaps in the process to educate readers from further afield. There is, in fact, a certain strain about some of these pages, as the author was too anxious to subordinate to the general theme of the monastic vocation—the "lost lovely land of which I brook Press can truthfully claim to be an authentic expression of the work as a form of worship, and the press's recent achievement in this regard is a testament to the author's skill. Mr Chaplin, knows his Peru leather binding, it uses the less than the streets, the pits, the head moors indicates the Benedictine life of *Lindisfarne* and, in an age of increasing standardization of the virtues of craftsmanship and the truest sense, a veneration for the sanctity of the word.

subject of recruitment into the higher civil service. Professor Frank Musgrave, who like E. H. Carr, J. H. Plumb and Peter Laslett sees history as a comparative-normative study, discusses power and authority in Victorian schools to illuminate his investigations of bureaucratic tendencies in present-day school administration. The two detailed studies show the value of bridges between the disciplines which are, however, distinct, as Professor Charlton rightly emphasizes.

JEFFREYS, M. V. C. *Education: Its Nature and Purpose*. 124pp. Allen and Unwin. £2.75 (paperback, £1.50).

The cover of Professor Jeffrey's book shows a Koranic school in West Africa, a modern language laboratory and candidates sitting the *Baccalaurat* in France. The book ranges equally widely over the world of philosophy, with chapters on the individual and society, freedom and authority, and continuity and change, to lead the reader to understand the author's civilized concept of education as no less than learning to live. Among some wise dicta is a compromise between the extremes of progressive and traditional teaching methods: "Without discipline creation will never emerge from chaos. But the premature clamping down of discipline may crush creation at birth."

## History

HARRISON, R. K. *The Ancient World*. 162pp. The English Universities Press. Paperback, 55p.

To compress the outlines of ancient Near East history from Australopithecus to Augustus into 150 pages is a task few would undertake, and fewer still would accomplish as efficiently as R. K. Harrison. After a necessarily inconclusive chapter on prehistory, "still beset by unknown factors", we are off through the Mesopotamian civilizations, those of Palestine and Egypt, with a side glance at China: then of Persia, Greece and Rome, ending with the "Babe of Bethlehem" about 4 B.C., a chronological paradox for the elucidation of which a line or two might have been added to the Appendix. Nautifian, Hakkadian, Warkian, Urukian, Sumerian, the names flash by, unfamiliar even to many who know that ancient history does not begin in 776 B.C. But Professor Harrison manages to find room in the densely-packed story for such themes as the abuse of alcoholic beverages in Babylonia and Assyria; the building of the pyramids; the importance of the cultural sphere once shared by Israel, Ugarit and Greece; and the diffusion of the "Persian" knot in the weaving of Chinese rugs. All this, with 12 plates, notes and suggestions for further reading, well-printed in paperback for 55p: few volumes in the "Teach Yourself" series offer greater value to any reader whose appetite for facts is matched by a struthious capacity for digesting them.

## Architecture

PRELATO, J. M. *The Making of a Profession*. 297pp. Angus and Robertson, in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Architects. £5.

A history of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, established in 1929, and of its predecessors which, including the professional organizations in the various states (now the state chapters of the institute), go back much earlier—in the case of Victoria to 1851. The book begins with an interesting account of the early days of the architectural profession in Australia. The first architect was Henry Brewer who came out with Captain Phillip, founder of European Australia, in 1788. It ends with a review of the successive presidents and gold medals of the institute.

## Botany

AYLOR, A. W. *Wild Flowers of the Pyrenees*. 103pp. Chatto and Windus. £1.50.

The rich flora of the Pyrenees has developed in diverse physical and climatic conditions, varying from the moist Atlantic coasts, high snow-clad mountains and deep valleys to the sunny eastern slopes. Ninety species are illustrated, about one-half of which are endemic. Nomenclature is in Latin and English, brief descriptions of the plants include height, altitude and flowering period. Half the plates are in colour and many show the flowers in their natural mountainous environment. Some of the black-and-white illustrations are very helpful for identification.

## Education

History, Sociology and Education. 6pp. Methuen. £1.40.

The purpose of the History of Education Society's conference in November, 1970, was to inquire into the relationship between the history and the sociology of education. Of four papers delivered at the conference, which are printed in this volume, those by Gerald Bernshaw, Professor Kenneth Charlton and the author are the most interesting. The text of this yearbook dignified to the status of immediate monument covers the 1950s and 1960s from a Royal Tour to the Democratic Convention in Chicago and the

rise of the Black Panthers. The hectic lecturing of the journal is exactly reflected in the tortuous, darting line of the drawings that obliterate all distinction, all unique observation, in the total impressionistic whirl. Here and there a downy-headed slave or a policeman's bully back peers through, but how little is lingered over or mullied over and so revealed! The Central European satirist has hunted his prey from Positano to St Moritz and finally—joyfully—has tracked him down to his lair by a Los Angeles pool, or the Living Theatre, merely to smite: "Society-mad discordance with room for any social perversion, usually brutal but indifferent mostly to any art." He has taken the short-cut after short-cut, but in the end he is still noticeably lost in the maze.

## Industry

EDWARDS, R. S. and ROBERTS, R. D. V. *Status, Productivity and Pay: A Major Experiment*. 45pp. Macmillan. £10.

The series of productivity agreements in the electricity supply industry in the 1960s was the first for a whole industry and proved outstandingly successful. Professor Phelps Brown, in a foreword to this account of them, describes them as "a turning point in British industrial relations and management practice". The authors were both directly concerned. Sir Ronald Edwards was chairman of the Electricity Council and R. D. V. Roberts as member of the council with a special responsibility for industrial relations. Mr Roberts in an addendum takes the story on to the Wilberforce Court of Inquiry at the beginning of 1971 and the settlement which followed. In spite of their own involvement, the two writers have provided a detailed account of a very important industrial development with admirable objectivity.

## Local History

ANDRIEUX, EUGENE A. *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War*. 237pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £3.50.

Confining his study to the West Country, Professor Andrieux is able to examine the social aspects of the Civil War rather more closely than in a general history. Not surprisingly, the conclusion reached is that most Devonians wanted only to be left alone. It was of course a vain hope, since the control of the west was important to both sides. The Royalists gained and kept that control, except at Plymouth, for most of the war; but, the author emphasizes, it was in Devon that they made their greatest mistakes, in failing to organize the county's reserves of men and of wealth. Extracts from the relevant Exeter sessions records, and lists of local members of the Long Parliament, are added in appendices.

CNIPPER, BOB. *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family*. 288pp. Heinemann. £2.75.

Bob Copper belongs to a family which has been known for four hundred years in and around the village of Rosingdean, near Brighton, and of whom the past three generations have devoted themselves to the singing and recording of the old Sussex songs. In this book he draws on the memories of his father and grandfather to relate these songs to the life and work of the farm labourer during the last half of the nineteenth century. Here are the seasonal jobs of ploughing, lambing, tail-docking, sheep-shearing, hay-making and harvesting, together with all the economies and customs of the cottage—hacking, brewing, boot-mending and the like.

The account is so spaced and thickened with ripe and memorable stories, at second or, at most, third hand, that it is saved from turning into a mere country calendar—in particular, the recollections of the author's father, James Copper, set down in 1953, have a direct matter-of-factness that is often moving to read. This unfortunately cannot be said of the author's own style, which lacks the naturalness he takes to his singing and often falls into "Country Magazine" pastiche: "The counterpoint of gold of February sunshine, making

pale promises that can never be fulfilled, nevertheless infuses a little hope into even the most winter-weary heart." To put against this, however, there is much shrewd observation of the human landscape, and several pages of photographs as factual as James Copper's prose.

GLUSMITH, JOHN. *Hambledon*. 119pp. Winchester: Winton Publications. £2.40.

The name of Hambledon suggests only cricket to most people and cricketing history finds a large place in this story of the Hampshire village. The game was of course known before the famous eighteenth-century matches on Broadhalfpenny Down, but "Hambledon raised cricket from a sport to an art". However, John Glusmith has more than this to relate to his village and, having a distinct gift for narrative, he makes full use of such opportunities as the arrival there of Charles II in flight from Worcester, or a sensational murder committed in 1782.

## Medicine

WALLER, ROBERT (Editor). *Just Consequences*. 193pp. Charles Knight. £2.50.

That there is a clear connexion between the quality of the food we eat and the diseases from which we suffer has for long been maintained by a large number of people. This symposium, which closely involves the work of the Soil Association, contains a number of facts of undoubted interest, but the conclusions drawn from them are not entirely convincing, however plausible they may have been presented. In view of what is often said now of the danger of severe poisoning from food adulteration, one must respect Kenneth Mellanby's opinion that although many chemicals, some of them poisonous, are added to our food, they are generally not such a danger as an unbalanced diet of sophisticated, but nutritionally impoverished, food.

## Military History

HILLS, R. J. T. *The Life Guards*. 128pp. Leo Cooper. £2.10.

It is a refreshing change to read the history of a regiment which is still extant and R. J. T. Hills's story of the Life Guards is one of the most interesting of his series. The Life Guards, whose history is as warlike as any one else's, trace their origins to the two troops of cavaliers which accompanied Charles II into exile in 1651. WASNER, PHILIP. *The Special Air Service*. 385pp. William Kimber. £3.50.

Unorthodox operations in war have received special attention from the British in the past thirty years. The success of expeditions behind the enemy's lines so often caused disproportionate disturbance that special service units have persisted into the uneasy peace and pursued their adventures in awkward situations in Malaya, Arabia and Borneo, again with a large measure of success. Many of the stories have already been told and much use is made of these accounts by Philip Warner in this first compilation of the history of what may roughly be called the regiment. The book takes for all aspects of the work, gives credit to its outstanding figures and clearly describes its methods, although sometimes too diffusely to arrive at a coherent record.

## Photography

HAAS, ERNST. *The Creation*. 159pp. including 106 plates. Michael Joseph. £6.50.

This large book, horizontal in format, is the first full-length one produced by this celebrated colour photographer. After an introduction of a sentimental sort which plays to the gallery and does not withstand a moment's analysis, Genesis of King James is quoted in large white italic lettering on brown paper. Then follow the colour photographs under the headings: The Elements, The Seasons, The Creatures. The whole concludes with some notes, first of a general nature and then on each of the plates.

The conception is redolent of the

epic pretentiousness of Hollywood's heyday. That is a pity because many of the photographs are of exceptional beauty. They stand on their own—dramatically, brilliantly and, on the whole, without vulgarity. They do not need the beguiling, literary and emotive support of the title.

## Psychology

LYNN, RICHARD. *An Introduction to the Study of Personality*. 117pp. Macmillan. £1.20 (paperback, 60p). Richard Lynn examines what he feels are the two outstandingly important personality traits, introversion-extraversion, and what Cattell called "Anxiety" and Eysenck "Neuroticism". William's set limits this is a readable and clear guide for the general student. It is a pity that there is not a fuller bibliography for those wanting to pursue further the various topics raised.

## Sports and Pastimes

WOOLLER, WILFRED. *Glamorgan*. 172pp. Arthur Barker. £1.95.

Glamorgan, the last county to be admitted to the County Championship, and whose career from 1921 down to the present day has been chequered and colourful, have always tried to play as many of their own Welsh players as possible, and the spirit and moral of the side, under the driving captaincy of the author of this book, were high. Wilfred Wooller takes his narrative along at a brisk pace without deviating into any unorthodox territory, although the book has the air of being put together in a hurry. "Topper" for Toppin, may be dismissed as a mere misprint, but "Littleton" (twice) for Lytleton argues something more than carelessness.

## World Affairs

DANIELS, JOHN. *Kuwait Journey*. 190pp. Luton: White Crescent Press. £2.90.

The author has served in the Gulf area, we are told, for twenty-five years in a variety of jobs of some consequence. But he suffers as an author from divided aims. He is not content to tell us a good tale of life as he has lived it in the modern Gulf, nor has he given us a worthwhile historical or political commentary on the changing scene. Instead, he has tried to do all three at once—a not impossible exercise, perhaps, but one that requires more skill than he possesses. The result is an unimpressive, which may be appropriate to the condition of the Gulf in general these days (and, with some reservations, as regards the amiability, could certainly be applied to the condition of Kuwait) but is hardly worth the price the reader is invited to pay.

POLLOCK, N. C. *Studies in Emerging Africa*. 342pp. Bitterworth. £5. N. C. Pollock has set out to provide not a detailed source-book but a wide-ranging background for students of modern Africa. He has covered the economic and social geography of the continent in its many aspects, discussing urbanization and agriculture, transport problems, game conservation, minerals, water and power and, as the key to all development, education.

The book is illustrated with black-and-white drawings, and a number of clear maps and charts. It contains a mass of information and inevitably the need to compress means that some of it is less than comprehensive. However, the limitations of space have not prevented him from capturing the essential educational dilemma facing African governments: whether to spread a little education thinly or to concentrate on the production of a small élite.

Probably the main criticism which can be levelled at Mr Pollock concerns his choice of political factors to take into account. Clearly, this is a difficult question of judgment in a continent where political issues change notoriously fast, but there are some strange omissions.

Nevertheless, Mr Pollock has succeeded in bringing together a great deal of material and presenting it in a way which enables valid and necessary pan-continental comparisons to be made.

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MS. English 13th century. Complutensian Polyglot. (514-22. Geneva (imperfect) 1560. N.T. Rhinims. 1582. O.T. Downy. 1609-10. A.V. 'Ho' Version. 1611. Biblia Sacra, prepared by Consor in America. 1612. And others 15th-18th centuries. EARLY THEOLOGY. 15th-17th centuries. Catalogues and Details on request

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Alice Clifton-Taylor: *The Pattern of English Building*. (Faber. £3.25).

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15 Chestow Court, Chestow Crescent, London W11.

Ric John Gray, 1866-1935, known as "Docton" Gray in the early 1890s, Catholic convert and priest in Edinburgh: whereabouts of letters and books, and any personal reminiscences.

Mrs Dara McCormack,  
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largely to the active interest of such men as Sidney Cookerell, Emery Walker, and, most recently, Jan van Krimpen, whose types are now almost exclusively used in the books produced by the press. Travelling exhibitions in England and the United States have made its work widely known, and almost every one of its recent limited editions has been oversubscribed before publication.

This account of its evolution from a domestic hand-press to provide for the needs of Benedictine communities to its present omniscience in the international league of typography is charmingly recalled by one of its anonymous printers. Free from the

restrictions of a competitive market—but limited, too, by its necessary subordination to the general theme of the monastic vocation—the book is a truly beautiful work of art. The inforced, unselfish work as a form of worship, and the press's recent achievement in this regard is a testament to the author's skill. Mr Chaplin, knows his Peru leather binding, it uses the less than the streets, the pits, the head moors indicates the Benedictine life of *Lindisfarne* and, in an age of increasing standardization of the virtues of craftsmanship and the truest sense, a veneration for the sanctity of the word.

History  
Robert Beverley: *The History and Present State of Virginia*. Edited and abridged by David Freeman Hawke. (Bobbs-Merrill. £1.38.) S. G. Checkland: *The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885*. (Longman. £1.50.) J. R. Pole: *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic*. (University of California Press. £1.90.) L. S. Stavrianos: *Man's Past and Present*. (Prentice-Hall. £3.)

Law  
Michael Akhurst: *A Modern Introduction to International Law*. (Allen and Unwin. £2.50.)

Literature  
Nathaniel Hawthorne: *The Marble Faun*. Edited by Richard H. Rupp. (Bobbs-Merrill. £1.38.)

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John Stuart Mill: *Utilitarianism, with Critical Essays*. Edited by Samuel

William Dean Howells: whereabouts of poems in manuscripts, letters, anthologies and gift books, for an edition of the complete poetry.

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Leah Lloyd Jones: any recollections or letters, for a study.

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Andrew Long: whereabouts of literary effects.

Marek Muir,  
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Guido: identities of characters in the roman à clef, *Friendship*.

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Joseph Burday Penitend, 1797-1873, zoologist and paleontologist: any information, portraits, etc., for an edition of the letters.

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Pullitts  
Peter Van Ness: *Revelation of Chinese Foreign Policy*. (University of California Press. £1.55.)

Serial Studies  
Melvin M. Tunin with Anne Feldman: *Social Class and Change in Puerto Rico*. (Bobbs-Merrill. £1.52.) Nur Yalman: *Under the Tree*. (University of California Press. £2.50.)

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London 1890-95, and pictures of Rome, Naples, Sicily and Nice 1900, for a study of the last days of Wilde's life.

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